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Dedicated to

JULIUS EMIL OLSON

*Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literature,
University of Wisconsin, (1884-).*

At the business session of The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, Chicago meeting, May 2, 1925, Professors George T. Flom and C. N. Gould, presented a resolution that the current volume of the Studies, to be completed with the November, '25 issue, be dedicated to Professor Julius E. Olson, which resolution was unanimously adopted. The former was designated to write the dedicatory sketch; upon invitation by him supplementary sketches have been prepared by Mr. J. C. M. Hanson, Chicago University, and Prof. O. E. Rølvaag, St. Olaf College.

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VOLUME VIII

ARTICLES

Hermann Collitz: Old Norse <i>Elska</i> and the Notion of Love	1
Adolph V. Benson: American Appreciation of Fredrika Bremer.....	14
Albert Morey Sturtevant: Old Norse Semasiological and Etymological Notes.....	37
Adolph B. Benson: Marie Sophie Schwartz, a Swedish Tendenz-Novelist Popular in America.....	48
George T. Flom: On Dramatic Theory in the North from Holberg to Ibsen, Pt. II, Adam Oehlenschläger and Jens E. Baggesen.....	67
Albert Morey Sturtevant: Regarding the Nominative Singular Ending -r in Old Norse.....	80
Henning Larsen: The Rediscovered Landstad Manuscripts.....	84
Olav K. Lundeberg: Ibsen in France: A Study of the Ibsen Drama, Its Introduction, Vogue and Influence on the French Stage.....	93
Lee M. Hollander: Recent Studies in the Helgi Poems..	108
Adolph B. Benson: The Beginning of American Interest in Scandinavian Literature.....	133
Albert Morey Sturtevant: Berthold Auerbach's <i>Die Feindlichen Brüder</i> and Bjørnson's Story of the Two Brothers, Bård and Anders, in <i>En glad gut</i> : A Comparison.....	142
H. Logeman: Holberg's Use of "Sexten" as an Indefinite Numeral.....	151
Adolph B. Benson: Bayard Taylor's Interest in the Scandinavian North.....	165
Axel Linvald: Danish Historical Research in Recent Times.....	185
Albert Morey Sturtevant: Old Norse Notes.....	199
F. Stanton Cawley: An Edda Parallel in Tennyson's "Princess".....	210
Jules Mauritzson: A Forgotten Speech by Strindberg..	215
Adolph B. Benson: A Swedish Travelogue of the Seventeenth Century.....	221
Juul Dieserud: "Norse" and "Norseman" versus "Norwegian".....	233

Esther H. Kapp: Gustaf af Geijerstam in the Field of the Psychological Novel.....	239
Albert Morey Sturtevant: Bjørnson's Mors Hænder....	249

REVIEWS

Lee M. Hollander: Magnus Olsen, <i>Norrøne Gude- Og Heltesagn</i>	34
David F. Swenson: Lee M. Hollander, <i>Selections from the Writings of Kierkegaard</i>	61
Nils Flaten: George J. Flom, <i>The Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá, Pt. I. The Noun Stems and the Adjectives</i> ..	64
George T. Flom: Krogsrud-Seip, <i>Norsk Riksmåls-Ordbok</i>	88
Aksel G. S. Josephson: <i>Some Swedish Books of Recent Years</i>	126
George T. Flom: Joh. Kalén, <i>Ordbok Över Fageredsmålet. Festskrift Tilegnet Førstebibliothekar A. Kjær</i>	129
Hans Reynolds, <i>Færøyarne</i>	130
Albert Morey Sturtevant: George T. Flom, <i>The Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá, Pt. II. Pronouns, Numerals, and Particles, The Verbs and Their Conjugations</i>	156
Joseph Alexis: <i>Norwegian Fairy Tales</i> , Translated by Helen and John Gade.	163
Aksel G. S. Josephson: <i>Årsbok Utgiven Av Samfundet de Nio</i>	191
Joseph Alexis: Adolph B. Benson, <i>America of the Fifties: Letters of Fredrika Bremer</i>	194
N. M. Ylvisaker: <i>Søren Kierkegaard. Collected Works</i> ..	226
L. M. Hollander: Thorstein Veblen's <i>The Laxdaela Saga</i>	258
Henning Larsen: M. B. Landstad's <i>Folkevisor fra Telmarken</i>	260

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study.....	90
George T. Flom: <i>A Rejoinder</i>	195
The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study.....	230

SKETCHES

George T. Flom: Julius Emil Olson.....	261
J. C. M. Hanson: Julius Olson, 1893-97 and..... Later.....	265
O. E. Rølvaag: Professor Julius Olson, A Preacher of.. Idealism.....	270

OLD NORSE *ELSKA* AND THE NOTION OF LOVE

I

One of the most remarkable works in the field of general linguistics is the stately volume published by the Royal Society of London in 1668 and written by John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, one of the founders of the Royal Society and a brother-in-law of Oliver Cromwell. The work is entitled 'An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language,' the author's chief aim being to substitute for the common alphabetic system of writing a "real character," or, as we would say, an ideographic method; in the author's own words (p. 13) "*a Real universal Character, that should not signify words, but things and notions, and consequently might be legible by any Nation in their own Tongue.*" Maybe this is an important goal tho I am not sure that the English bishop made many proselytes or that he has any strict followers at present.

Having been written at least a century before the first beginnings of modern comparative philology, Wilkins' work must be expected to contain many things not in harmony with present views. Nevertheless it remains of great interest to this day, embodying, as it does, nearly the whole linguistic erudition of the author's time reproduced and revised by a scholar of whom Leibniz justly speaks as a *vir ingenio doctrinaque egregius*. Let it suffice to mention that the chapters dealing with vowels and consonants were deemed important enough by the editor of the *Internationale Zeitschr. f. Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.*, (F. Techmer), to have them reprinted in full (Vol. 4, pp. 354-373).¹

The body of the work is made up of a classified list of those notions which the author intends to admit to his ideographic World Language. The classification being based not upon an arbitrary selection but on the actual condition of things, it amounts to a *Systema Naturae*. In fact, it would not be difficult to trace on the one hand its connection with mediaeval philosophy, and to show on the other hand how it must be looked at

¹ Cp. on John Wilkins and his work, e.g., Th. Benfey, *Geschichte d. Sprachwiss.* (München, 1869) p. 249-50; F. Techmer, *Internat. Zs. f. allgem. Sprachwissenschaft.* 4 (1889), p. 339-353; Rich. M. Meyer (article "Künstliche Sprachen") *IF.* 12 (1901), 290-93.

as a forerunner of Linné's celebrated work. Whether or how far a similar classification of notions lies within the realm of linguistics is a question that need not delay us here. Wilkins, of course, needed it as a basis for his system of ideographic writing.² Meanwhile, however, the study of language has chiefly become a study of linguistic evolution. It stands to reason that scholars trained in the methods of historical grammar do not look favorably on a system which by its very nature is bound to oppose any variation.

What is needed for our present interests is rather a record—be it a dictionary or a systematic list—of semantic origins, indicating the various ways in which single words or groups of words are descended from and etymologically connected with certain fundamental notions. Such a record will serve as a reliable guide in etymological researches, and it would seem that unless supplied with a knowledge of semantic possibilities the etymologist resembles the navigator, setting out for the high seas without a compass to guide his course.

If planned to cover the whole field of human experience and human ideas, such an undertaking would mean a much bigger task than Wilkins set for himself; in fact much too heavy a burden for the shoulders of any single scholar, even if confined to one family of languages. All we can expect at present to accomplish is to follow the example set more than forty years ago by Bechtel in his well known monograph on the terms for sensitive perceptions in the Indo-European languages,³ so as to investigate

² In this connection it may be worth while adding that the place assigned in his system by Wilkins to the notion of Love is among "simple passions" (i.e., passions "which consist only of one single act," a subdivision of Chap. IX "Spiritual Action"). More particularly, Love is counted (p. 230) as one of the passions "flowing from our general apprehensions of the Worth of things, and our need of them." Into the same category with the general term LOVE the author proposes to group the following English expressions: 'Affection, inamour, dote on, smitten, amiable, befotted, amorous, dear, endear, Darling, Minion, Paramour, well-beloved, Likings, Fancy, Phillre.' When adapted to the 'Real Character', every one of these supposed synonyms must of course be replaced by the general term.

³ *Ueber die Bezeichnungen der sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen in den indogerm. Sprachen.* Ein Beitrag zur Bedeutungsgeschichte. Weimar, 1879.

a single group of notions with regard to their semantic development in the various Indo-European languages.

As a contribution to this end the following inquiry into the etymology of the verb *elska* is offered: not as an exhaustive study of the semantics of the notion of love in Indo-European, but rather as a first step in the direction toward the goal.

II

Elska is distinctly a Scandinavian word. No trace of it is to be found outside of the Scandinavian languages, whereas the latter are in full accord with each other both as to form and meaning. For Icelandic *elska*, Swedish *älska* and Dano-Norwegian *elske* will be seen to be identical to the letter, provided we make allowance for the regular phonetic differences existing between the various branches of the Scandinavian group. The inference naturally is that *elska* has grown on Scandinavian soil, and that we must look there if we want to trace its etymological affiliation.

The current view appears to be that *elska* is connected with the O. Norse verb *ala* 'to nourish, bring up (children), breed,' and Lat. *alere*. This opinion, at least, has the support of Hjalmar Falk and Alf Torp in their Etymol. Dict. of the Norwegian and the Danish Language⁴ s.v. *elske*. While unobjectionable from a phonetic point of view this derivation is less convincing in other respects. *Elska* is supposed by Falk and Torp to be derived from the O. Norse adjective *elskr* 'fondly attached to, fond of.' Yet this adjective is not apparently found before the Saga period, whereas the verb occurs in the oldest O. Norse texts. Nor am I convinced that *elska* originally meant anything different from what it means in the earliest literary sources. Interesting as the fact may be that in Danish *opelske* the verb *elske* seems to have the meaning of O. Norse *ala*, this compound cannot prove that the two verbs were identical in meaning. We may assume, e.g., that *opelske* is due to a blending of the compound *opale* (preserved in Norwegian) with the simplex

⁴ *Etymologisk Ordbog over det Norske og det Danske Sprog*. Kristiania, 1903-1906 (2 vols.); *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1910-1911. (2 Bde).

elske, at a time when in Danish the word *ale* was becoming obsolete, so as to be generally replaced by other verbs. The linguistic facts then would seem to favor the opinion that in certain words *elska* 'to love' passed into the secondary meaning of 'bringing up with care and love' rather than the theory that the notion 'to love' developed from that of 'to nourish' or 'to bring up.'

Before attempting to substitute a different etymology of the verb *elska* for the derivation from O. Norse *ala* or Gothic *alan*, we must now try to answer the question, from what other notions verbs meaning 'to love' are generally derived in the Indo-European languages. For the sake of brevity I shall confine myself to illustrating the general principle by a few typical examples.

In etymology, as in other lines of knowledge concerned with historical conditions, we are likely sometimes to meet with exceptional or irregular instances. As a result of a very peculiar development, e.g., the syllable *bus* happens to be used in English as a designation of a certain kind of vehicle. Being a short form for *omnibus*, it consists merely of the Latin ending of the dative-ablative plural. Needless to say that we must not try to base upon this word any general principle as to the designation of vehicles.

Leaving then aside similar instances of an exceptional development of terms for 'love' we may say that the majority of words belonging here may be divided into two different classes, according to their connection, on the one hand, with words for liking, desire, kindly disposition or friendly behavior, or, on the other hand, with words denoting a passion.

As typical examples of the former class I would consider, among others, the following:

(1. Goth. *frijōn*). The verb *frijōn* has a claim to be regarded as the general Germanic term for 'to love,' more especially in the mild sense of liking, being fond of, feeling attached to. In Old Norse as in some of the other Old Germanic languages this verb is on the point of becoming extinct.⁵ But it has

⁵ Cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Icel.-Engl. Dict.*, s.v. *frjá*; Gering, *Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda.*, s.v. *frā*.

survived to this day in every Germanic language in the noun (originally the partic. pres.) Goth. *frijōnds*, O. Norse *frændi*, Engl. *friend*, Germ. *Freund*, etc. Tho no traces of this verb are found in Greek or Latin, it must have existed in Indo-European in a form and a meaning similar to that of *frijōn*, because the latter is identical with Old Slavonic *prijati* and Vedic *priyāya-te*.⁶

(2. M.HG. *minne*). The noun *minne* and the derivative verb *minnen* are best known from Middle High German. Together with derivations like *minnære*, *minneclich* and compounds like *minne-bant*, *minne-liet*, *minne-sam*, *minne-spil* these two words fill in Lexer's *Handwörterbuch* about a dozen columns with more than a hundred items. But the noun *minne* and the verb *minnen* at least can be traced back in the meaning of 'love' to the West-Germanic period, *minne* being identical with OHG. *minna* 'amor, cupido, caritas, affectus, affectio' etc. (Graff 2,771), O. Sax. *minnea* and O. Fris. *minne* 'love,'⁷ and the verb *minnen* with OHG. *minnōn*, O. S. *minnion*, O. Fris. *minnia*. The etymology presents no difficulties, there being no doubt that we are concerned with members of the large family descended from the I. -Eur. root *men-*, found in words like Lat. *mens* (stem *ment-*, earlier *men-ti-* = Ssk. *mat-*), *me-min-i*, *re-min-isci*, *com-men-tarius*, *mon-eo* etc.

(3. MHG. *meinen*). As a companion of *minnen* we may regard the verb *meinen* when used in the meaning of 'to love.' Neither in MHG. nor in Mod. German has it acquired the same popularity as the former and is apparently now becoming obsolete. Nevertheless it must be regarded as one of the regular synonyms in German of the verb *lieben*. Numerous examples from MHG. may be found in the *Mhd. Wörterbuch* of Müller-Zarncke, s.v. *meine* 4 (Vol. II, 1 p. 107f.), and for Mod. Germ. in Grimm's *Dt. Wtb.*, s.v. 'meinen' *e* (Vol. VI, col. 1930 f.),

⁶ See for additional forms and related words, e.g., Falk & Torp, *Wortschatz der German. Spracheinheit* (= Fick's *Vergl. Wtb.*,⁴ Bd. 3) p. 246.

⁷ W.-Germ. **minnja* regularly with *-nn-* instead of earlier *-n-*. According to Falk & Torp, *German. Sprachschatz*, p. 308, the Germanic prototype would be *menjō* (instead of *minja*). But why ascribe to the general Germanic form vowels other than those actually found in the oldest Germanic dialects?

Grimm's (or rather Moritz Heyne's) last example being the first two lines of M. v. Schenkendorf's well known poem:

Freiheit, die ich meine,
die mein Herz erfüllt.

It is not very often that we are in a position to trace the origin and development of an abstract term with the same exactness as in this case. The German verb *meinen* being identical in origin and in its general meaning with Engl. *to mean*, we must start from the familiar meaning of the latter. Through the intermediate notion of 'to have in mind' this verb acquired the meaning of 'concentrating one's mind upon something or somebody,' or 'devoting oneself to the service of somebody.' The difference between these meanings and 'to love' is so slight or at least the transition from the one to the other so natural that it is not always possible to draw a distinct line between them (cp., e.g., the lines quoted above from Schenkendorf). As a matter of fact, no attempt at making a distinction in MHG. between 'jemanden in guter Absicht ins Auge fassen,' 'eine gute Gesinnung gegen ihn hegen,' and 'ihn lieben' is made by the authors of the *Mhd. Wtb.* (s. v. *meinen* 4).

(4. MHG. *buole*). A rather peculiar and difficult word is MHG. *buole* m. and f. 'near relative, or friend, lover, sweetheart' = Mod. Ger. *Buhle*, together with the deriv. verb MHG. *buolen* = Mod. *buhlen* 'to make love to, court, solicit' (e.g., *um Gunst buhlen*), and the deriv. nouns and compounds: MHG. *buolære* = Mod. *Buhler*⁸ m. 'lover, gallant,' *Buhlerin* f. 'coquette, courtesan,' *Nebenbuhler* m. and *Nebenbuhlerin* f. 'rival' etc. Outside of High German the noun *bōle* m. occurs frequently in the meaning of 'near relative' or 'near friend' in Middle Low German, alongside of *bōleken* pl. 'brothers and sisters.' The most plausible explanation of these words seems to be that Low Germ. *bōle* = High Germ. *buōle* is a hypocoristic transformation (a 'baby edition,' as it were) of the old-inherited word for 'brother' (M. Low G. *brōder*, OHG. *bruoder*), parallel to the MHG. noun *buobe* = Mod. Ger. *Bube*.

⁸ Kluge, s.v. *Buhle*, says: *Buhler* erst seit Geiler 1494. Yet MHG. *Ovidius buolare* is quoted by Lexer (*Handwöbch.*, s.v. *buolare*) from the Younger Titarel.

(5. Greek φιλέω). In languages other than Germanic one of the most familiar verbs for the notion 'to love' is Greek φιλεῖν. Naturally we are anxious to ascertain its etymon. Yet about all that can be said with certainty is that φιλέω is derived from the adj. φίλος 'dear, beloved.' Notwithstanding the numerous descendants of which they may boast these two words do not seem to have in Greek any near relatives or any ancestor (in the sense of a root of primitive verb that might throw light on their provenience). Nor is anything to be gained by adopting (with Prellwitz, *Griech. Et. Wtbch.*) a suggestion of A. Fick that φίλο might be connected with an Old Germanic adjective *bila-* 'lenis' (i.e. 'moderate, mild, gentle'). The alleged adjective appears to have been rather a noun belonging to the Germanic root *bi-* 'to split' (developed from I.-E. *fid-*, Lat. *findo*, Skr. *bhid-*) and accordingly meaning 'break, interval, weak spot' (cf. Falk & Torp, *Germ. Wortschatz*, p. 269, s.v. *bila*) The adjective **bilja-* then may be rendered by 'having a weak spot, yielding, adaptable, accommodating, reasonable'. The nearer we approach this word and its connections in Germanic, the farther it seems to move away from its alleged counterpart in Greek.

(6. Sanskr. *van-*). Turning from Greek to Sanskrit, our attention is engaged above all by the Vedic root (or primary verbal basis) *van-* with its three present-themes *vāna-* (cl. I), *vand-* (cl. VI), and *vanō-* or *vanu-* (cl. VIII). Its various meanings are given in Macdonell's Dictionary (p. 268) in the following order: 'like, love; wish, desire; gain, procure; conquer, win; possess; prepare,-for, assist (d.)'. This arrangement is essentially in keeping with that of the sixteen distinctions made by Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, and appears not only strictly systematic from a semasiological point of view, but also probably reflects correctly the historical development and order of succession of the various notions.⁹ As to the etymology we

⁹ I am not sure whether W. D. Whitney in giving in his 'Roots of the Sanskrit Language' (p. 153) as the only meaning of the root *van*, *vā* the word 'win' is of a different opinion. It is not only possible but probable that already in the I.-Eur. parent-speech the root *van* combined the two meanings 'to like' and 'to win.' Yet it would seem that under all circumstances the former must be regarded as the more original of the two.

are again on familiar ground, the I. -Eur. noun *vénos* n. (= ved. *vānas* n. 'loveliness') having become in Latin the proper name of the goddess of love. As an appellative the same noun has served as the basis of derivations like the adjective *venustus* 'lovely, beautiful' and the verb *veneror* 'to worship, adore.' In the vocabulary of the Germanic languages the root *ven-* has held from the outset and is holding to this day an important place.¹⁰ But in many instances the development here has been so peculiar—both as to form and meaning—that commenting on them in detail would lead us too far away from our principal theme. Let it suffice to remark that the nearest approach here to the notion of love is in nouns like O. Norse *vinr*, Ags. and O. Fris. *wine*, O. Sax. and OHG. *wini*, MHG. *wine* 'friend, lover, husband,' or OHG. *winileod* 'lovesong' (Graff 2, 199).

(7. Sanskr. *kam*). A similar root—or rather, couple of roots—is found in Vedic and classical Sanskrit in the forms *kan*, or *kā*, or *can* 'to be satisfied or pleased with, to rejoice in,' and *kam* 'to wish, desire, love.' The noun *kā'-ma-* m. 'wish, desire; pleasure; (sexual) love,' (also regular name of the god of love), is generally regarded as derived from the root *kam*. Considering, however, that the noun *vāmā-* n. undoubtedly belongs to root *van*, we may just as well count it among the derivations from root *kan*. Altogether the situation seems to be in favor of regarding *kan* as a form inherited from Indo-European, and *kam* as a later transformation, so as to count the *m* of *kāma-* as part of the suffix rather than as belonging to the root. However this may be, the root *kan-* (or *can-*) is found not only in the Iranian languages, but has left a trace at least in Greek in the adj. *πέπων*, voc. *πέπον* 'dear' (cf. Prellwitz, *Griech. Etym. Wtbch.*). Latin *cārus*, on the other hand, tho generally supposed to be connected with *kāma-*, can hardly belong here.

However natural the etymological connection between love and friendship, as evidenced by the instances mentioned, may appear to us: we meet no less frequently with words represent-

¹⁰ For a selection of the more important Germanic words belonging here I may refer to the work which for obvious reasons I am quoting again and again in this paper, viz. Falk & Torp, *Wortschatz der german. Spracheinheit*, p. 386-388.

ing love as a passion, so as to place it on a line with similar emotional conditions. Yet the terms belonging to this category are again far from being of exactly the same description.

Let us accept the definition of the word passion as "an intense or high-wrought emotion" or "an abounding or controlling emotion, such as revenge, desire, fear, love, hatred, etc." or "intense or overpowering feeling, as of love or anger, such that the mind is as if passively swayed by it."¹¹

It will easily be understood that

(1) in designating passions the chief stress may be laid either on the intensity of the emotion or on its controlling quality to the disadvantage of reason and will power. The passion of love, therefore, may be expressed either in terms synonymous with zeal, stress, courage, might, etc., or in terms denoting a wandering or misguided or deranged mind. Taking into account, moreover, that in both respects the various passions are in a similar position, we may expect one and the same root or stem or word to serve in one language as a designation of love, in another (cognate) language as a designation of anger, or rage.

(2) There being no strict dividing line between feeling, sentiments, emotion, passion and similar conditions of the mind we must be prepared to find one and the same word or stem designating in one language a strong desire, in another a state of ardent love or perhaps lack of control over the mind.

We may now be sufficiently prepared to turn to the following etymologies.

(8. Latin *amāre*). The notion of unrestrained passion, of vehemence or even violence, may clearly be detected in the words connected with Lat. *amāre* and *amor*. The corresponding verb in Vedic Sanskrit is generally quoted in grammars and dictionaries as *am* with the meaning 'to injure'.¹² Yet forms like the 2. sg. *amiṣi* and the noun *āmivā* f. 'plague, disease' point to an I.-Europ. dissyllabic root. That the original mean-

¹¹ The quotations are from Webster's New Internat. Dictionary, s.v. *Passion* no. 9; The Century Dictionary, s.v. *Passion* no. 5; The Desk Standard Dictionary by J. C. Fernald (Funk & Wagnalls Co.), s.v. *Passion* no. 1.

¹² Cp., e.g., W. D. Whitney, *Roots, Verb-Forms etc.*, of the Sanskrit Language, p. 3.

ing must have been 'to advance impetuously, to force one's way onward,' Grassmann¹³ has justly inferred from the Vedic material. In Sanskrit (incl. Vedic Sanskrit) this meaning has generally passed into that of harmful advance, oppression, disease, etc. Dissyllabic roots beginning with a short vowel followed by a consonant and ending in a long vowel show a tendency to drop the initial short vowel. In the European languages, therefore, *amā-* generally appears reduced to monosyllabic *mā-*. So in the Homeric noun *μῆνι-s*, Dor. *μᾶνι-s* f. 'wrath, anger,' and the derivative verb *μαίνομαι* (for **μᾶνجومαι*) 'to rage, to be furious';¹⁴ also in a slightly different and perhaps more original shade of meaning in *μαίμᾶω* 'to be very eager.' In the same reduced form *amā-* appears in Germanic, the *ā* of course being changed to *ō*. This, at least, would seem to me the most natural explanation of the isolated Germanic noun *mōd(a)-s*: Goth. *mōd-s* or *mōþ-s* 'wrath, anger,' *mōdags* adj. 'angry,' *mūka-* *mōdei* 'meekness'; O. Norse *ōðr* 'wrath, grief,' *mōðugr* 'fierce, gloomy'; O. Sax., O. Fris. and Ags. *mōd* 'mood'; OHG. and MHG. *muot* 'mood, mind'; Mod. Ger. *Mut* 'courage,' *mutig* 'courageous,' *Sanftmut* 'meekness,' *vermuten* 'to suppose' etc.

(9. Greek *ἐραμαι*). From a different angle is love as a passion apparently looked at in the Greek verb *ἐρμαι* or *ἐράομαι*, together with the noun *ἐπος* or *ἔρως*. As was pointed out by Johannes Schmidt in a work on the plural of the neuter nouns in I.-European,¹⁵ these words contain an old *s*-stem *ἐρασ-* (cf., e.g., the adj. *ἐξάνθος* 'lovely' for *ωξᾶσ-υς-s*) similar in its ending and structure to nouns like *γέρας* or *γῆρας* and Vedic nouns in *-is*. The *a* of the final syllable, therefore, must be regarded as the

¹³ *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, col. 89 and 90. 'Advance' is correctly given as the original meaning of the root *AM*, also, e.g., in A. Macdonell's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 24.

¹⁴ The form *μᾶν-* (with short vowel) seems to belong to the post-Homeric time. The noun *μᾶνλα*, e.g., is not yet found in Homer. *μᾶντι-s* 'soothsayer, seer, prophet' I would rather take as shortened from **σημάντι-s*, since in its various meanings it agrees closely with *σημαίνω*.

¹⁵ *Die Pluralbildungen der indogerm. Neutra*. Weimar, 1889, p. 386.

regular Greek equivalent of I. -Eur. 'sheva'.¹⁶ Vowels of this variety being liable by their very nature to disappear entirely, unless developed into a full vowel, we need not hesitate to identify *ἔραο* with the verbal basis *ers-* as found, e.g., in Lat. *errare* and *error* (for **ersare*, **ersor*), Goth. *airzjan* 'to lead astray, deceive'; *airzeis* adj. 'astray'; *airzei* f. 'error, deceit'; OHG. *irri*, MHG. and Mod. Germ. *irre* 'astray' (with many variations, e.g., MHG. 'unsteady, fickle, faithless, heretical'; Mod. Germ. 'perplexed, confused'); cf. Mod. Germ. *Irrtum* 'error,' *Irrenanstalt* 'insane-asylum', etc. The common tie holding together these and similar words is obviously that of going astray, having lost one's presence of mind; being mad, as it were, or at least on the verge of madness. This meaning may appear to be far remote from that of Lat. *amare*. The semantic connection, however, is not missing with regard at least to words like Gr. *μῆτις* and Goth. *modags*; cf., e.g., O. Sax. *irri*, Ags. *ierre* (*yrre*, *eorre*) 'angry,' Ags. *iersian* 'to be angry, make angry.'

(10. Sanskrit *lubyati*). An abundant variety of meanings is again found in the case of words etymologically connected with Engl. *love*, *to love* and German *Liebe*, *lieben*.¹⁷ The German and English words no doubt are related to Latin *libet* (earlier *lubet*), *libens* (earlier *lubens*) and *libido* (for *lubido*), and to the Sanskrit verb *lūbhyati*. If it were a question only of Latin and Teutonic, we might readily agree with the current belief that these words are descended from an I. -Eur. root or verb meaning 'to feel or manifest a strong desire, be lustful.' The Sanskrit verb, however, seems to point in a different direction or at least to require a somewhat wider range of meanings. In

¹⁶ The term 'sheva' (pronounced *sh'vah*), well known to students of Hebrew grammar, was introduced into the vocabulary of I.-Eur. philology by Fick's article "Schwa indogermanicum," *Bezzenb. Beitr.* 3 (1879), 157-165 and has meanwhile proved indispensable for the purposes of comparative grammar. Its meaning is that of a slight or unstable vowel sound, as contrasted with an ordinary vowel.

¹⁷ For a list of the words belonging here in Germanic see Falk & Torp, *Wortschatz der Germ. Spr.*, p. 376.

the Rigveda only the causative *prati-lōbhāya-ti* is found, meaning 'to befool, to infatuate.' Grassmann¹⁸ therefore wants to ascribe to the root *lubh* the two meanings 'to become perplexed' and 'to desire ardently.' In classical Sanskrit the use of *lubhya-* covers nearly all of the various shades of meaning to be met with in similar words. Let me quote the following few lines from Macdonell's article on *lubh*:¹⁹ "*lābha*, grow bewildered, go astray; desire, long for; entice, allure; caus. *lobhaya*, derange; excite the desire of, entice, attract; intens. *lolubhyate*, have a vehement desire for. *ā* [i.e., when used with the prefix *ā*], become disordered. *pra*, go astray; excite the desire of, allure, lead astray. *prati*, (caus.), infatuate, extract. *vi*, (caus.), lead astray, etc.; enchant with. *sam*, becoming deranged; (caus.) derange, disorder; efface; entice, seek to seduce." Maybe the difficulty can be removed by ascribing to the Indo-Eur. parent speech the meaning: 'to be infatuated or charmed.' This, however, will not account for the meaning 'to go astray,' unless we regard it as developed from 'to be infatuated.'

(11. O. Norse *elska*). Turning back now to our starting point, I trust that we may experience little difficulty in finding the etymon of the verb *elska*. The notion of zeal or impetuosity belonging to those preferably used in denoting the idea of love, *elska* appears closely related to the noun *eljun* f. 'energy, endurance,' Goth. *aljan* n. 'zeal,' O. Sax. *ellean*, Ags. *ellen* n. 'courage,' OHG. *ellan*, MHG. *ellen* 'courage,' bravery'. The mutual relation, in fact, between these nouns and the verb *elska* is entirely parallel to that existing between the Germanic noun **mōd(a)-s* and Latin *amāre*.

The root *al* 'to be zealous or impetuous' is more clearly distinguished from the root *al* 'to nourish' than from the root *al* 'to burn' which has been fully treated by K. F. Johansson in an interesting article in the *Zeitschr. f. dt. Philol.* vol. 31 (1899), pp. 285-302. Originally, however, the two roots can hardly have been identical.

As words connected with *elska* in Greek and Latin I venture to claim: ἀλύω 'to be greatly moved by joy or grief,' ἀλυκτέω 'to

¹⁸ *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, col. 1187.

¹⁹ *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 264.

be restless, wander about,' ἀλυκτάζω and ἀλύσσω 'to be excited, distressed'; also probably λύσσα 'rage' for *ἀλύσσα, i.e., ἀλυκ-ja Latin *alucinor* (also spelled *allucinor* or *hallucinor*) 'to wander in mind, dream, rage.'

A final word remains to be said with regard to the suffix of the verb *elska*. Judging from the material collected by Ludvig Larsson²⁰ the verb *elska* is found at an early date in Old Icelandic together with the noun *elska* f. Similarly we find in Early Germanic the verb *aiskōn* 'to ask' together with the noun *aiska*, and the verb *forskōn* 'to inquire, search' together with the noun *forska*. The evident conclusion is that the -sk- of *elska* is identical, as in *aiskōn* and *forskōn*, with the well known I.-Eur. present-suffix, and that *elska* was coined at a time when the Scandinavian languages still possessed either the verb *aiskon* or *forskon* or perhaps both of these verbs.

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²⁰ *Ordförrådet i de äldsta isländska handskrifterna*, Lund, 1891, p. 64.

AMERICAN APPRECIATION OF FREDRIKA BREMER

Fredrika Bremer, pioneer novelist, was the second Swedish writer, in the domain of letters, to become well known in America, and the first one to acquire extensive popularity. The success of her domestic novels was as immediate on this side of the Atlantic as in England, and her English translator was not far wrong when she declared in 1852, in a preface to the collected edition of her translations, that the works of Fredrika Bremer had become familiar to every household where the English language was spoken. Some of her tales, such as *The Neighbors*, had gone through nine British editions within a decade, and as early as 1843 a Boston publisher had braved the enterprise of issuing a separate, respectable edition of the same work after "thousands of the newspaper edition had already been circulated." No matter how unreadable these stories may be today, there is no doubt that during her own lifetime Miss Bremer's circle of readers was phenomenally large, both at home and abroad. Her specialty, the fireside novel, proved singularly timely to her generation, everywhere, and appealed to all classes. It was she rather than Tegnér who made literary Sweden known to American women. Her travelogues became even more popular, because of their freshness, frankness, and permanent historical value, and especially *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*, a work of over thirteen hundred pages, which required five New York printings in a month.

Although the demand for this particular publication may in part be ascribed to our own desire for reading nice things about ourselves, the contents give abundant testimony that Miss Bremer's name had been well established in this country before she set foot on American soil, and in enumerating the source material for our topic, *The Homes of the New World* must first be mentioned.

This delightful record of Miss Bremer's travels and observations on the American continent, containing as it does also a faithful account of the extraordinary welcome extended to her in the United States, constitutes, by its inferences, an indispensable, convincing source for determining American apprecia-

tion of the Swedish authoress. The character of the American hospitality offered her must in this case, to no small degree, be an index of international fame and opinion. Her *Impressions*, then, became indirectly an honoring American tribute to their author. Even granting that much of our kindness was prompted by curiosity and politeness, the fact remains that this was based on reputation, and the reputation in turn upon real literary and humanitarian accomplishments and first-hand acquaintance with them. One may well ask whether any foreign writer ever received a more hearty and general welcome! However, in this paper we shall intentionally omit specific autobiographical references and confine ourselves, in accordance with the main purpose of this introductory investigation, strictly to American, and occasionally English, testimonials. Of special import are the earlier, objective but no less enthusiastic criticisms made of her by strangers before the novelist became our personal guest and friend. Of the manifold attitudes toward Miss Bremer's writings, the ideas of her personality, and the convictions concerning her broader interests and mission, the extracts here quoted are believed to be representative.

It becomes at once apparent from letters, diaries, reviews, journal records, and magazine articles, from 1843 on, that for a few years before the coming of Jenny Lind the name of Sweden suggested to most foreigners the name of Fredrika Bremer. G. W. Lay, the American chargé d'affaires in Stockholm, submits a testimony in 1844 that this was the case in Germany, and the same condition probably obtained in America, where, despite the admirable efforts of Longfellow, we did not know Tegnér so well as they did in Germany. We learn from Mr. Lay that Miss Bremer had already enjoyed considerable favor and attention in America, that "the humble Swede" was very grateful for them, and that the American upon a visit to her home had been much impressed by her simple dress, her charity, her ample fortune, the many languages represented in her library, the flowers in her room, her expressive blue eyes, and by their tendency to fill with tears when speaking upon a subject of deep interest. The honorable Mr. Lay then proceeds:

That she is highly poetical and imaginative, no one can doubt that has read her works; but to find a mind so constituted, and in the same person, qualities

which seem to be quite the antipodes of these, is what few would expect. Miss Bremer in conversation is exceedingly interesting; but always seems inclined to talk upon questions of political economy, philosophy, morality, and religion. She is well read in all these subjects, and in whatever she says there are purity of thought and earnestness of manner which carry conviction to the heart that she feels deeply every word that falls from her lips.

Mr. Lay's article on Fredrika Bremer appeared both in the New York *Commercial Advertiser* and in Littell's *Living Age*.

In the interim the first important American estimate of *The Neighbors* had already been published in the *North American Review*, in April 1843. It is a lengthy, just and sympathetic appreciation by an anonymous admirer. Much space is devoted to a discussion of the characters of the book. Bruno is labored and melodramatic, the reviewer contends, for the authoress does not succeed in parts tragic or horrible, but *Ma chère mère* is a real creation, a notable addition to our gallery of fiction portraits. She is not a hybrid monster, but a harmonious whole having proportion and symmetry. *The Neighbors* has more boldness, emotion, feeling, and unreserve than our own productions; yet we must not judge a work as extravagant or unnatural because it is different. Beware of prejudiced coolness or apathy. In fact, often what is ludicrous and in bad taste in one country is not necessarily so in another. The highest charm of this particular book is its pure and healthy tone. Wholesome and invigorating, it teaches us the source of happiness in moral, social, and intellectual affairs. Truth, impressiveness, and fidelity to nature reign supreme. Possibly influenced by the current public opinion of the novel, which was very favorable, the reviewer testifies that the popularity of the book rests not only upon its new scenes and forms of life, which were much like those of New England, but on its simplicity and naturalness. "It has been a source of gratification to us," says the writer, "that the power of appreciating these good qualities remains unimpaired in a country which has been so drugged with copious doses of Bulwer, Marryatt, and d'Israeli."

Only three months later, July 1843, another eulogistic but discriminatory article on Miss Bremer's stories, credited to W. B. O. Peabody, is contributed to the same magazine. Here

over twenty pages are filled with narrative and discussion. The writer is a little surprised at Miss Bremer's open references to drinking, is much astonished at her occasional "profaneness," and a little shocked at her jesting allusions to solemn objects, but readily discovers the characteristic good qualities of the novelist. Descriptions of homes is her forte, he implies, and to teach moral lessons of happiness her deeper mission. The romance in her works is the least attractive, he rightly asserts, it often being inconsistent, unnatural, and unwelcome; theatrical pageants are unworthy of the rest; home, heart, and common things comprise her best and special field. This Swedish woman possesses the enviable gift of universality, and is both an optimist and a prophetess. Her characters are men and women of all mankind, such as we have met. She teaches us that happiness depends on what we *are*, not on what we *have*: harmony and peace with others are manifested in living action, in the daily life of the family. Says Mr. Peabody:

She is not blinded to substantial merit by the rough word or hasty action; in the young she can see glimpses of promise through the offensive peculiarities of childhood, and she can exert that forbearance toward the old, which disarms all angry passion, keeping the waters of life, by her own unconscious influence, all clear and smooth about her. She is able, without effort, to see far below the surface, and to trace what is most manifest to common eyes. She has the courage to paint life as it is; as Shakespeare shuffled clowns and kings together, she takes her reader at once from the parlour to the kitchen, showing in the same view the preparations for dinner and the fermenting elements of tragic passion in the household; the fretful impatience of one moment of those who can be great and self-denying at another; and painting to the life those half laughing tears and their self-consoling sorrows, together with those battles of the secret heart, which would make men's lives scenes of thrilling interest to any eye that could look them through. In this department she excels all who have gone before her; and however loose and disjointed her stories may be; though all the unities of time, place, character, may at times be furiously disregarded, one who reminds the reader so often of what passes in his own life and own breast is sure of that affection and grateful interest, which is far more enviable than any amount of profit or popular fame.

In discussing the individual novels, the same contributor emphasizes the popularity of *The Neighbors*, believing it "admirably suited to herald forth a literary name." The book interests both old and young, surpassing the attraction of other similar

stories, and fascinating even maturer readers who had "laid fiction aside and never expected to see an inducement to return to it again." *The Home* is likewise much praised as a work of art consistent in all its parts. The following is a strong commendation:

This unpretending story must be regarded as one of the best and happiest tributes which literature has ever paid to humanity. It deserves not only to be admired, but pondered and studied by all who would understand the true wisdom of life, and escape those cares and sorrows which men bring on themselves, and which are by far the heaviest that ever oppress the heart.

Again, the character of Helen in *The H—— Family* is

one in which the author delights, and with reason; for no other writer, that we can remember, has ventured to draw a sketch of those admirable persons, who cut off by infirmity and plainness of person from sharing the enjoyments of others, instead of being soured by privation, enter with the warmer interest into the joys and sorrows of others; commanding respect by that self-balanced repose of character which implies firmness and strength, and inspiring affection to a degree which none are fully conscious of, till their places know them no more.

We take our leave of these works with the highest respect for the writer. The fireside is her field of fame; no one has ever equalled her descriptions of its blessings, and her skill in tracing out the sources from which they flow. . . . Since that high gift is bestowed on this author, may she use it with a sense of her responsibility, so that now, since her talent has made her equal to the highest, her conscientiousness and power of moral impression may set her above all other writers of the day.

Unquestionably the most scholarly, compelling, and best known early American recognition of Fredrika Bremer is one which appeared the following year, 1844, in the same periodical and one which raises an interesting problem of authorship. This article, which evinces a comparatively good knowledge of Scandinavian things in general, its history, geography, climate, and national characteristics, in fact a knowledge that could never have been gathered exclusively from the works reviewed—is attributed to James Russell Lowell. His biographer, Horace Elisha Scudder, claims it was Lowell's first contribution to the "North American," and so far as we know this statement has never been questioned in this country. If it is true, the Swedes may jubilate over another New England poet learning their language to get first-hand information about their literature, for

the writer of this review must have had a reasonable working knowledge of both Swedish and German. We know that Lowell read German, but did he read Swedish? As Swedish students of Bremer literature have pointed out, however, it is much more likely that the author was Longfellow, who had been in Sweden, knew Swedish, and had translated some poems of Tegnér. A dozen pages, out of almost thirty, are devoted to a crushing, comparative, linguistic study of American and English translations of Miss Bremer, such as could only have proceeded from a linguist. Mary Howitt, the English translator, who had challenged the correctness of American versions in a surprisingly vulnerable manifesto prefixed to her translation of the *Diary* and *Peace and Strife*, is now lashed in turn for violating English idioms and "debasing the pure metal of Miss Bremer." With respect to authorship, it is of course possible that Lowell wrote the unsigned review of *The Neighbors*, noted above, which appeared in April 1843, and that by some confusion he was considered the reviewer of her works in general, that appeared later.

At all events, in this same article, the works of Miss Bremer became the occasion for a long disquisition on the comparative merits of Viking and Yankee characteristics, which turns out favorable to both. Courage, constancy, boldness, moral genius, intelligence, and independence are virtues common to both, and both are alike poetical, though the Yankee is "far more sublime and worthy of reverence." The previous Scandinavian contributions to civilization of Tycho Brahe, Linné, Swedenborg, Thorwaldsen, and Tegnér are mentioned, and the writer reveals some acquaintance with the Sagas and mythology of the hardy Norsemen. He believes, further, that the epithet "The French of the North," as applied to the Swedes, has been won at the expense of what is manliest and noblest in their national character. Despite native vices and weaknesses, however, their constitution is sound, and in time they will throw off impurities. "Thanks to the strong sense of one of their kings, who made the ability to read a necessary qualification for a legal marriage, the Swedish people have already in themselves the seeds of moral regeneration." The descendants of the Vikings have asserted the purity of their lineage, retaining the same adven-

ture, the same trumpet-voice—in short they are a modern people in whom the fierce blood of Odin has been tempered by an intermixture of the womanly gentleness of Balder. The critic prophesies that the language and the climate of the country will ultimately produce a literature of distinction in Sweden.

As for Fredrika Bremer, she typifies a salutary change in the novels of the day, says the observer. Her products are something more than a picture of mere manners; they make us better, removing us from the jostling world to the dear circle of the family, and reintroducing soberness, dignity, depth, and richness into the genre. Formerly novels had been clear and brilliant simply because they were shallow; now they dealt more with the moral conditions of social life, with humanity in a profound sense. Lowell (or Longfellow) finds the Swedish lady "deficient in those nice delicacies of taste which distinguish her sex;" often she confuses her metaphors; yet she writes a "sweet, domestic fireside style of great simplicity," which is productive of happiness. She is especially successful in depicting little girls and the nursery. Like his predecessors, the reviewer discovers her universality:

In one respect we think her superior to most of the contemporary novelists, her characters being universal, not national. Whatever Swedish peculiarity they may have in their manners, there is none in their natures. They are not simply Swedes and Norwegians, but men and women. We recognize them, after a moment's thought as old acquaintances. They are as much at home in Boston as in Stockholm. . . .

From reading the works of Miss Bremer, we can get an idea of the present Swedish character, in its general features, as not unlike that of New England people. The customs and superstitions of the rustic population differ, indeed, in detail, but we find many points of resemblance in the outline. Susanna [in *Strife and Peace*] would have found herself quite at home in a Massachusetts farmhouse.

That Americans understood Fredrika Bremer's religion, in 1844, better than Englishmen did five years later will appear from a survey of the next two articles. In 1844 the *Christian Examiner* printed a sensibly favorable review of *Morning Watches (Morgonväkter)* entitled "Fredrika Bremer's Theology," and signed by S. O. *Morning Watches*, as the review explains, was a "precious statement of religious experience," setting forth

Miss Bremer's own confession of faith, and had appeared in Boston, in a poor translation, the year before. Here there are no oracles of theological wisdom, exclaims the delighted critic, for theology is man's province and pure religion is woman's; yet despite her liberalism and our inability to determine her *sect*, we know that she "is entirely with us in her views of the aim and spirit of Christianity." Every one has been impressed by the religious tone of her novels. "In spirit and aim, Miss Bremer sides most strongly with us [Unitarians] against the leading doctrines of modern Orthodoxy. . . ."

Sweden may thus afford us the best illustration of true defense of the faith. The sword of Gustavus [Adolphus] withstood the Papal armies and saved Germany from returning to the Papal yoke. Now the faith of Germany is not threatened by military churchmen, but by lax rationalists, and the pen which withstands them is not unworthy of a name with the sword of the great Protestant hero.

A direct contrast to the preceding is furnished by a singular interpretation from the *Christian Remembrancer* (London), and reproduced in *Living Age*, in 1849. Here the modest, non-suspecting Swedish spinster has become a heaven-defying non-believer, whose lack of Christian faith is nothing less than "painful" to the illiterate reviewer. Her novels are certainly not religious, he reiterates; in fact, she has profound sympathies for Scandinavian heathenism—and the chastising Englishman is horrified. Then we obtain the most illuminating explanation of all: it is all due to the *liberalism* of the Lutheran Church, which is also to blame for the moral degradation in Sweden. Just as the Swedes are a people of manners, so the Lutheran Church is one of forms, conceding however, that it has left a few incorrupt individuals, even in Stockholm.

This testimony notwithstanding, the English article is highly complimentary to the Swedish novelist by inference and final concession. It savors somewhat of envy and superciliousness, and the writer ascribes Miss Bremer's popularity in England in part to the descriptions of profuse eating and drinking in her novels—which is of course self-condemnatory for England also, though the judge does not seem to notice the beam in his own eye—and yet he admits that everybody had

been agreeably surprised at first at the appearance of such a series of tales from such a *terra incognita*. It was a new discovery to find that there were ladies in Sweden

at once elegant and refined, accomplished and skilled in housewifely labors alternately delighting her hearers by her sallies of wit and thought in the saloon, and ministering to the vulgarer wants in the kitchen. But nothing there is really vulgar; . . . all has an ambrosial fragrance, elevated above the ordinary *carte de cuisine*. . . .

It was all very new, very amusing, very refreshing. Every lady asked of her correspondent, "Have you read 'The Neighbors' and how do you like the Bear and his wife, and what do you think of *ma chère mère*?" And in reply everybody had read 'The Neighbors' and thought the Bear and his wife delightful, and agreed that *ma chère mère* was a new character, an artist's creation, conceived and executed with equal genius and boldness."

Fredrika Bremer's visit to America, from 1849 to 1851, logically prompted a revival of interest in her work, especially by the women writers of our land. In the seventh volume of Sartain's *Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, 1850, Anne Lynch pays an appreciative tribute to her colleague from across the sea, a tribute which is more than an enforced admiration of literary talent and genius—it is a warm, genuine, apparently unsolicited acknowledgment of a personal friend:

Her [Miss Bremer's] large and sympathetic heart is attuned to such harmony with humanity, or rather she so expresses this beautiful harmony of her own soul with God, with nature and humanity, that the human heart that has suffered or enjoyed, vibrates and responds like a harp-string to the master-hand. . . . It is no wonder, then, that homes and hearts have opened to her and that welcome and gratitude await her in every town and village of our country.

Miss Bremer is a friend, a sister, and a consoler; this is the conviction of Miss Lynch. Then turning to literary analyses, she continues:

When Miss Bremer's works were first introduced to us a few years ago, the brilliant narrations of Scott had been succeeded by the passionate and romantic creations of Bulwer, and our literature was flooded with inundations from the voluptuous and sensational school of France, which deposited its *débris*, and diffused its malaria wherever its impure waters subsided. At this period the writings of Fredrika Bremer came upon us, suddenly and beautiful as summer comes in her northern clime, and pure and sparkling as its mountain streams, as fresh and invigorating as its mountain air.

Her novels have artistic and literary faults. Her works, however, must be judged by both intellect and heart. The literary surgeon may not apply his "merciless scalpel" to a dissection of her products lest the perfume of the flowers escape. To quote again:

But those who have been elevated by their ennobling spirit, who have drunk at their clear, cool fountains, and felt their strengthening and life-giving influence, who have dwelt with her lovely characters in their happy homes, and participated in their joys and sorrows, would find it as impossible to turn upon them the cold eye of the critic as to analyse the sunshine and the landscape that delight the eye, or to judge the features of a beloved friend by the strictest rules of beauty or art. . . . Seen in any light, the writings of Miss Bremer have great and peculiar merit, and they occupy a distinctive place in the literature of the time.

With force and spontaneous frankness Anne Lynch hails her foreign sister as the "salutary antidote" to all who sneer at weakness in humanity and magnify its errors. Moreover, Miss Bremer's message of peace and love, acts as a moral antidote to George Sand. Good and evil must co-exist, but while the French novelist is disorganizing and materializing the Swedish writer is organizing and spiritualizing. George Sand destroys; Fredrika Bremer constructs, exalts, and ennobles:

George Sand and Fredrika Bremer stand at the head of two widely different classes of fictitious writing, each having other and higher objects than to amuse. Through the writings of both there is an undercurrent, to which the story is but the sparkle on the surface. Both discuss great questions of social reform, the laws of marriage, and the nature of love. Both enter the temple of humanity—but the one to overthrow its altars, and to shatter its cherished images—the other to render them more firm and steadfast—to burn incense on the shrines, and adorn them with garlands of immortal flowers.

After a personal acquaintance with Miss Bremer, Catherine M. Sedgwick pens her impressions of the foreign visitor in a letter of October 13, 1849. The more she saw of Miss Bremer, the better she liked her, and was ashamed of having once called her "plain." Miss Sedgwick found a slightly old-fashioned lady, simple and sincere, dressed in sombre colors, with a florid but not coarse complexion, and a mouth like Longfellow's. Her accent was strong and her intonation strange, but her voice was sweet—a soul-instrument of a true spiritual organ. "She has

tones of voice," says Miss Sedgwick, "so full of humanity and experienced suffering that they almost bring tears to your eyes." Possessing also a delicate recognition of every shade of feeling and the sweetest gentleness, she is truly marked for the Kingdom of Heaven. "Very slightly conventional, not at all rustic," is another comment. In mind and thought she is not so foggy as the Transcendentalists, the writer points out, and has a sound, rocky foundation and a clear atmosphere of good sense.

Longfellow's *Journal* contains the following entries about the Swedish traveler:

December 6, 1849. Called on Miss Bremer at the Revere House. A kindly old lady, with gentle manners and soft voice. We talked of Swedish authors. Nicander [whom Longfellow had met in Rome in 1828] has been long dead. Tegnér she spoke of with affection, much moved and with tears in her eyes. She comes to Cambridge today to stay with the Lowells. Saw also Professor Bergfalk from Upsala. How far and strange that sounds!

December 13, 1850. Last evening we were at Lowell's to see Miss Bremer, who is a very quiet little body and sat sewing lace on her handkerchief all the evening.

February 8, 1850. Sat half an hour with Miss Bremer.

February 12. Went to Miss Bremer's, who made a sketch of me in her book. While I sat there, Ellen Crafts came in,—the slave woman who ran away disguised in man's clothes as a young master, her husband going as her slave. When Miss Bremer told me who it was, and spoke of man's clothes, Ellen hung her head and said she did not like to have it mentioned,—“some people thought it was so shocking.” Miss Bremer laughed at this prudery, as well she might; and we both urged her to be proud of her act. Then Mrs. — came in; and among other brilliant remarks said, “Miss Bremer, do you think a woman has fulfilled her mission before she has become a mother?” Miss B. dropped her pencil, and lifting up both hands exclaimed, “Yes, indeed! Those women who have no children of their own have more than those who have many.”

August 4, 1851. At twelve went to see Miss Bremer, at her request, that she might finish the sketch of me which she began some time ago,—We sat and chatted an hour very pleasantly. She goes this afternoon, and we say farewell.

Lowell speaks of Miss Bremer in 'no common terms. On January 23, 1850, he writes to C. F. Briggs: “Fredrika Bremer stayed three weeks with us, and I do not *like* her, I *love* her. She is one of the most beautiful persons I have ever known—so clear, so simple, so right-minded and—hearted, and so full of judgment.” Whittier supplemented his kindly poetic tribute, *To Fredrika Bremer*, included in his collected poems, by a note

asserting that his verses voiced the sentiments of his whole family. And in the South, "people wondered at the stranger," writes a professor from the University of Virginia, reminiscing in *Hours at Home* for December, 1867, on a visit to and from Miss Bremer, "who spoke English well enough, but had such outlandish ways about her, and chatted with the darkies, as they were then called, as kindly and as civilly as with white people."

In the spring of 1858, Miss Bremer renewed, in Rome, the acquaintance made in New England with Hawthorne and his wife; and a few sentences from the frank and informative *Italian Note-Books*, bearing on their meetings in the Italian capital, may properly be inserted here for the sake of a certain completeness. Says Hawthorne in his diary for April 22, 1858:

Miss Bremer called on us the other day. We find her very little changed from what she was when she came to take tea and spend an evening at our little red cottage, among the Berkshire Hills, and went away so dissatisfied with my conversational performances, and so laudatory of my brow and eyes, while so severely criticising my poor mouth and chin. She is the funniest little fairy person whom one can imagine, with a huge nose, to which all the rest of her is but an insufficient appendage; but you feel at once that she is most gentle, kind, womanly, sympathetic, and true. She talks English fluently, in a low, quiet voice, but with such an accent that it is impossible to understand her without the closest attention. This was the cause of the failure of our Berkshire interview.

But a part of the cause must be sought in Hawthorne's own nature, for he continues: "I doubt whether I have ever really talked with half a dozen persons in my life, either men or women."

Just a month later, Mr. and Mrs. Hawthorne "went by invitation to take tea with Miss Bremer." They found her in the tiniest and humblest domicile that they had ever seen in Rome, and wondered whether she had possibly become poor.

"She welcomed us, however," says her American guest, "with the greatest cordiality and lady-like simplicity, making no allusion to the humbleness of her environment (and making us also lose sight of it, by the absence of all apology) any more than if she were receiving us in a palace. There is not a better bred woman; and yet one does not think whether she has any breeding or no. . . . There is no better heart than hers, and not many sounder heads; and a little touch of sentiment comes delightfully in, mixed up with a quick and delicate humor and the most perfect simplicity. There is also a very pleasant atmosphere

of maidenhood about her; we are sensible of a freshness and odor of the morning still in this little withered rose,—its recompense for never having been gathered and worn, but only diffusing fragrance on its stem. . . . God bless her heart! . . . She is the most amiable little woman, worthy to be the maiden aunt of the whole human race. I suspect, by and by, that she does not like me half as well as I do her; it is my impression that she thinks me unamiable, or that there is something or other not quite right about me. I am sorry if it be so. . . ."

Biographers of American writers have always valued the judgments and opinions of the Swedish observer expressed in her *Homes of the New World*, which has therefore become a source-book for them of no small importance. Though sometimes too favorable perhaps in its views, we always find in this travelogue an earnest, honest report of observations, as Miss Bremer sees them, that may not be disregarded. Of special interest have been her descriptions of the work, ideals, and homes of the New England poets and philosophers. Accordingly, C. W. Cooke, for example, in *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, quotes frequently from Fredrika Bremer; and the above-mentioned Mr. Scudder, in his Lowell biography, draws upon the same source for a picture of the Lowell household. We may assume also that many gathered fruitful ideas from her reports without direct quotation.

A wholly different form of appreciation, as represented in at least two magazine articles, deserves a brief notice. This is a thoughtful consideration for her social difficulties as a distinguished foreigner, and is nothing less than an expression of sympathy for Miss Bremer as America's guest. Both articles are strong, clever protests against the coarse flattery and "impertinent curiosity" of some thoughtless Americans who do nothing but stare, pester the guest with silly questions, insist upon meaningless and uninteresting interviews, with tiring dinners and banquets, and annoy the traveler in a thousand ways without having any deep interest either in her person or in her work. Exceedingly facetious is a satirical account of '*Miss Bremer's Visit to Cooper's Landing*' by "One who was there," published in Godey's *Ladies' Book* in 1850. The *New-burgh Republican* had duly announced that the celebrated "Mrs. Fredricka Bremer" would appear in town on a certain

day. The excitement of beholding a real live authoress in their midst was intense, the anxiety indescribable, and the Four Hundred of Cooper's Landing made hurried but elaborate preparations for her reception. At last the eventful day arrived, the awaited celebrity made her appearance, and was almost jostled to death. One young lady had practised up enough German to try a sentence of it on the guest; another native accosted her in trite academic French, neither however succeeding in extracting the slightest response. The famous Swede assumed an air of arrogant passivity, and the hosts were in despair. "She *suttlingly* ain't tall, and she's got a cap. . . . I reckon she's about the desired age," remarks a bystander by way of reassuring himself and his neighbors that the object of the fuss answered the description of her given in the local newspaper. Then came the thunderbolt—the celebrity turned out to be the wife of a Nantucket sea captain.

No less serious and poignant but more direct, fearless, and merciless in form, is *A Reminiscence of a Foreign Celebrity's Reception Morning*, an anonymous protestation relating the arduous polite duties of Miss Bremer on an autumn forenoon in 1849, and reproduced in *Harper's Magazine* in April, 1857. Miss Bremer was overwhelmed by swarms of "frogs, jackdaws, cockatoos, and monkeys," who in mortal moulds infested the drawing-rooms, declares the disgusted correspondent. Nine-tenths of those present should have stayed away, continues the wrathful critic, though the dear little Lioness bore up well and remained patient under the frogs' visitation. But the herd obey their instincts, and rush to see a foreign celebrity to gratify instinctive curiosity and instinctive vanity. One gazer, Poor Sylvia, "cowered like a timid dove in the clutch of a real lion." Miss Bremer's race was truly aristocratic, yet "our pretty rose-tinted young girls" called her 'dreadfully plain,' though it was a plainness that one loved. Here she was confronted, however, with those who have no reverence, are self-poised out of stupidity, and "saturated with self-complacency."

A telling by-product of this scathing criticism of American manners, apropos of Miss Bremer's visit, is the final discussion in this same article of foreign visitors in general and of Charles

Dickens and Miss Bremer in particular, this in turn leading to a digression comparing American and English qualities, and to a pondering of its deeper meaning. The writer selects *vanity* as the predominating American weakness, an infirmity rather than a sin of devils, like *pride*, the English quality; and this obviously because of Dickens' unfavorable comments on things American in his *American Notes*. Dickens was a champion of the lower classes, in his books, but in his books only; he was disgusted with our democracy. Miss Bremer's views of our government and institutions were more charitable and far-sighted, the critic implies, and made due allowance for youth.

In this connection we must not fail to call attention to an amusing British explanation of our kindliness toward Fredrika Bremer. It is a literary digest of incidents connected with her visit to the United States and Cuba, presumably based on her travelogue, together with some ridiculing, self-sufficient interpretations. It is a careless concoction of fact and fancy, hastily compiled for the *Victoria Magazine* upon the death of Miss Bremer in 1865, and reproduced *in toto* in *Living Age* in 1866. There is of course some vestige of truth in the English analysis worthy of notice, but we should hardly subscribe to all its implications. The English contributor, also, but with an air of overweening superiority, compares Dickens in America with the Swedish "Christian socialist" in the same surroundings. The naiveté and provincialism of youth, the age of follies and gaucheries, account for Miss Bremer's reception, says the diagnosing Englishman in slightly different words. An older, sadder, more sceptical though not wiser America would not have accorded her the same welcome. I quote:

Why did the people of New York hasten to make a "lion" of Fredrika Bremer? The majority of the elegant people who came to shake her hand or who showered invitations upon her had certainly not read any of her novels. A pure impulse of hospitality was one ingredient, the proverbial gallantry of Americans towards the weaker sex went for much, especially when the woman came from afar to spy out the land; but, mingling with all these finer emotions was the craving of all young and not yet blasé communities, like that of New York, for excitement. . . . Again, the daughter of the Vikings had the advantage of coming from a nation with which the United States has never come into collision, and the mention of whose name excites no party feeling. It is certain

that no British, French, or German authoress would now evoke such a general and ready enthusiasm through the United States as the Swedish lady was able to do.

In a subsequent English book review our presupposed greater fondness for the Bremer stories is ascribed to the "wild pomp of her descriptions and the strong force of a primitive and unconventional character in her writings." However, judging both from the number of Bremer editions published in England—though many of the English books were of course sold in America—and from various material gathered between the lines in the reviews, it is doubtful whether the English *people* enjoyed the wild pomp of the Swede less than the Americans did. We have seen it admitted, even by reluctant critics, that "everybody" had read some of her works. In fact, the *proportion* of admiring readers of her fiction was probably larger in Great Britain than here. To be called, as she was by her translator, the Miss Austin of Sweden—which was intended as a compliment—implied something more than a despairing advertising attempt to sell her translations, for we have seen that some Bremer novels enjoyed a favor that might well rival Jane Austin's. Nevertheless, judging from the material accessible to the present writer, it seems evident that British critics who wrote for publication, and in so doing applied more strictly the rules of literary composition, were in general more severe than the American.

The Homes of the New World, pirated it seems by an American publisher, appeared in 1853, and, as was to be expected, was at once ardently sought by the American public. Harper's *New Monthly Magazine* (vol. 7, June–November, 1853) finds the Swedish letters about us very flattering, and the review, though favorable as a whole, is not entirely free from superficiality and editorial condescension. These volumes "will be eagerly read by all," says the writer,

"who possess the slightest curiosity to know the impressions made on the celebrated Swedish novelist by the universal Yankee nation. We will say at once that she looks at the homes of America in the most flattering light—with a few important exceptions, her descriptions are of the deepest rose-colored tint. . . . Toward numerous individuals in different parts of the United States, whom she honored with her friendship, her heart appears to overflow with a perfect gush

of enthusiasm. . . . Her work consists primarily of matter-of-fact details; she seldom indulges in speculation, scarcely in reflection; she advances no general views; lays no claim to the character of a political philosophress, or strong-minded woman; but with active, perceptive powers and heart-warm sympathies, she contemplates the living panorama around her, and faithfully sketches such features as most readily appeal to her interest and curiosity. Her impressions are given with the most transparent candor, and if she sometimes unnecessarily draws aside the veil of private life, it is certainly not in the spirit of gossip or scandal, but from excess of love. . . . Her pictures of life in the South, where she makes many warm friends, are of great interest, clearly aiming at both justice and kindness in regard to topics which few foreigners are in the habit of discussing with delicacy or moderation. . . . She exposes herself to ludicrous comments by her extreme simplicity; . . . lays bare her heart too freely for the indifferent, mischief-loving spectator; . . . and vainly endeavors to make lions out of very ordinary domestic animals;" but she is good-hearted and childlike, possessing sympathy and a "naive affectionateness." Miss Bremer is "earnest and truthful both in feeling and expression—so free from the characteristic vanity of a literary woman—so reserved in the recognition of her personal claims that it would betray an unworthy sullenness not to accept kindly her unpretending sketches, although they sometimes run into exaggeration and caricature."

In reviewing this review we cannot help suspecting that many of the "very ordinary domestic animals" lionized in 1850 by Fredrika Bremer have subsequently been lionized by American posterity. Miss Bremer merely showed herself a good prophet. Many such domestic animals are, more or less legitimately, dubbed lions after death, and there were not a few Americans about the middle of last century, who, as time has proved, were entirely worthy of such lionization. But on the whole this review is satisfactory.

On the other hand—and in the meantime *The Homes* had become immensely popular—the December number of the same periodical prints a letter purported to have come from an angry correspondent who had read Miss Bremer's letters, and not knowing that Mary Howitt had included some material of a personal nature in her translation of them which was not originally intended for English-speaking consumption, and also ignoring the possible interest to Swedes of reading some experiences that might not appeal so much to Americans, the incensed contributor scores the "malignant scandal," the "petty tale-bearing," the "indiscriminate gossip" of the book. "Everybody

reads, many admire, and not a few condemn it," says the editor, commenting on the alleged grievance sent in. "The great tea-table problem of rappings and movings has given place to discussion as to the propriety of the book."

The last statement is really a compliment of the highest order; to be able to displace unknowingly and unintentionally the contemporaneous interest in spiritual seances was no small matter, and it might even provide cause for envy. Besides, as a mirror of certain American customs that might appear petty to a European, *The Homes of the New World* may well have struck a few small and sensitive individuals with a disagreeable force, who were then peeved in consequence. It would have been more unnatural if it hadn't. But, as Ellen Kleman and Clara Johanssen of Stockholm, editors of the recently published Bremer correspondence, have already discovered, this article bears the stamp of "kalkborgerlig kitslighet," a fitting description in Swedish which we may render in English by some such expression as *philistine vexatiousness*, implying also a touch of meanness and nonsensical meticulousness. But to return to the review.

Miss Bremer should not have reported that she was "half frozen in bed," believes the protester; such a confession was unpardonable. Dickens, whatever else he did, did not portray private confidences; nor was he blinded in his observations by tea-table admiration. And yet, the "blundering, good-humored gossip," put into circulation for public amusement, is full of good impulses, and, *nota bene*, "there was never a more amiable book." Finally, while either making a sincere attempt to pour diplomatic oil on the troubled waters—for his firm had printed the work—or simulating a difference of opinion, the editor in his *Easy Chair* columns appends a lame defense of the book. He feigns to believe that the correspondent has been too serious, and explains there is nothing malicious in the Swedish impressions, though it may be too lachrymose and sentimental in affection to be in accord with the more vigorous American way of expressing feeling.

To recapitulate: In America, with but few exceptions, Fredrika Bremer was ardently appreciated by press and public

alike, and it was she more than anyone else who established a wide-spread American interest in Swedish literature. Championed by Longfellow, Tegnér had created a respect for Swedish poetry, but the palm of doing the same for Swedish prose must be given to Miss Bremer. The more active interest in her tales extended over a period of about thirty years, from 1840 to 1870, that is, for a generation, and during that time had passed through several editions in England and America. Although her novels are now practically forgotten in this country, and all old editions have long been out of print, her travelogue on America, also out of print, continues to be a refreshing source-book for information regarding the United States of 1850. The discussion of her works sometimes prompted consideration of Scandinavian affairs in general, and led to weighty philosophizing on various matters, including comparisons of English and American qualities. Some English writers attributed the character of our welcome of Miss Bremer's person and work in part to our unsophisticated youth, but admitted that she was popular in England also. Because of Mrs. Howitt's inadequate knowledge of the Swedish language, and the liberties taken by her in translating the impressions on America—liberties which almost brought about a break of relations between the author and the translator—some of the few causes for American objections to this travelogue must be laid at Mary Howitt's door. In general, however, *The Homes of the New World* were received in America with ardency, gratefulness, and love; and the plan of the American-Scandinavian Foundation to resuscitate it by publishing in the near future, in their series of Classics, a compilation of the most interesting and representative extracts from these letters, should meet with unqualified approval.*

Yale University.

ADOLPH B. BENSON.

*Since this paper was concluded, the writer has had an exceptional opportunity to see an interesting phase of the critical attitude of the American Abolitionists toward Fredrika Bremer; a phase which, though it has nothing to do with belles lettres, directly, demands a brief explanation here because of its attack on Miss Bremer's humanitarian principles, and therefore, to some extent, on her own personal self.

Recently, in a delightfully refreshing interview with a near relative of Mrs. Marcus Spring, one of Miss Bremer's most intimate personal friends in America, it became forcibly apparent that the ultra-Abolitionists could never forgive Fredrika Bremer—and cannot to this day—for not taking a more active, militant, not to say violent, part against Slavery in the United States. Now, no one hated the institution of Slavery more than the Swedish novelist; but with her practical mind she became convinced that a gradual emancipation, after a gradual enlightenment and elevation of the slave, was the only safe and just policy for either the black or the white people, and history has of course borne out the reasonableness of her fears. She did not believe that full freedom should or could be granted over night, without exposing the country to the direst consequences of helplessness, brute force turned loose, bloodshed, or something worse. Defending Miss Bremer during our conversation, I ventured to ask my informant what a foreign guest might reasonably be expected to do under the circumstances. Should the woman stranger take the stump, start a revolution, and immediately turn the land of her hospitable hosts upside down? "No," was the reluctant reply, after a moment's reflection, "but she need not have plastered the Southerners with compliments," came the frank but kindly retort from the vivacious Northerner, referring to the tributes which Miss Bremer paid not infrequently, in *The Homes of the New World*, to some of the best Southern people whom she had met and visited. I realized now that the Civil War was not yet over! My attention was next called to Wendell Phillips' disappointment in the Swedish lady, who had, he said "half ignorantly," burned incense "on the demon altars of our land."

Mrs. Spring's own enthusiasm for her visitor apparently never abated. She writes from Brooklyn, in 1849, to her sister, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, an ardent Abolitionist, as follows: "The reason for our going to Newburg was to see Fredrika Bremer. I remember being only once before so impressed by the presence of a great soul—that was in Dr. Channing's presence. She is a little, kind, Dutch-looking woman with a big head, but her face is covered with a beautiful expression of love and goodness. In about two weeks she is to come to us."

But Mrs. Chace did not share her sister's feeling very long, if at all. Mrs. Spring had obviously apotheosized her foreign friend again in subsequent letters, for in 1851 Mrs. Chace sends the following unequivocal answer: "The Fugitive Slave business is dreadful, and when it will end, Heaven only knows. Thou hopes I shall see Fredrika Bremer and knows I should love her. There is no probability of my having an opportunity and feel far less desirous than when she first came. Less sentiment and more principle; less noble words and more noble deeds, are what I look for to make the world better."

In the heat of strife it became impossible for Mrs. Chace to realize that Fredrika Bremer was of all people, first and foremost, a doer of noble deeds!

REVIEWS

NORRØNE GUDE- OG HELTESAGN. Ordnet og Fremstillet av P. A. Munch. Tredje Utgave efter A. Kjær's Bearbeidelse ved Magnus Olsen. Kristiania. 1922.

Among the books which a teacher of Scandinavian literature, both here and abroad, 'ought to know' this one occupies a prominent place. It has had an honorable history and, for a school book (in the highest sense), a long one. As the title explains, the original author is P. A. Munch, greatest of Norwegian historians. His splendidly composed *Nordens gamle Gude- og Heltesagn i kortfattet fremstilling*, written in 1840, and therefore one of the first publications of that marvellous mind, was revised by himself in 1847, and again in 1854. In 1880 a new edition had become necessary and was undertaken by the well-known antiquarian A. Kjær who incorporated a number of changes. Now, it has been again taken in hand (1922) by Magnus Olsen, and harmonized with the more recent results of a rapidly progressing science in which he is one of the most gifted workers.

As Olsen says in his preface, Munch's book has been "favorite reading during the last two generations. We are not yet through with this book which is justly reckoned among the classic works of our not very extensive literature of popular science. It ought to be able to live out its full century in an essentially unchanged form." So, with all the revisions that have been made, "the reader is to keep in mind that he has before him not a new book, but essentially one from the days of the 'Norwegian historical school'"—a fact which even the adept is apt to lose sight of when reading these engagingly written pages. Of course, the justification for revising so old a book lies in the descriptive character of Munch's work. He set himself the task of simply giving a connected and reasoned account of Northern mythology and hero lore, largely according, and sticking close, to the Northern sources—Snorri's Edda, the Poetic Edda, the Scaldic poetry. Hence it was both necessary, and comparatively easy, for the later editors by notes and slight changes to add sufficient selected critical material so as to make it a modern and useful book.

Just a few examples to show how this is accomplished. After the spirited narrative of 'Tor's uheldige færd til Jotunheim' (§42) there follows an incisive and orientating note informing us that von Sydow and Sophus Bugge have shown that the main elements in the myth are Celtic and were borrowed during the Viking Age, probably before the composition of the *Lokasenna* and *Harbarðsljóð* which have references to the same myth. A short additional chapter (§57) before the treatment of the hero lore (Heltesagn) explains the modern mode of attack—I quote the first paragraph:

"According to the conception current in the times dominated by Romanicism, the hero lore was regarded as embodying both myth and history, and hence closely associated with the myths about the gods. Investigations of more recent date operate only to a slight degree with indigenous heroic traditions from the oldest times and attack the material from an entirely different angle. At

present, the heroic legends are studied, not only with a view to their motifs, their contents: considered as a whole they exist only in and together with heroic poetry. Hence an entirely new comparative method is called for, different from the one employed in the study of the mythology, where the poems about the gods are seen to stand in close relation to the worship of the gods as carried on in fixed, strongly localized rites."

The most important and significant addition is, however, the entirely new chapter on traces of the old gods and their worship in Norwegian place names (*tillæg*, pp. 210-244). It is based, in the main, on D. Rygh's many-volumed 'Norske Gaardnavne' in which the entire roster of Norwegian farms, mountains, islands, etc., is investigated in detail topographically, historically, and philologically; and Professor Olsen's own recent investigations, some of which, indeed, are here drawn on for the first time. In simple, untechnical language the various formative elements indicating previous religious worship, such as *-hof*, *-vang*, *-ve* etc., their age and characteristics, are discussed and explained; after which introductory directions the author systematically passes under review the various Norwegian *fylker*, beginning with Østfold and ending with Troms fylke, pointing out and discussing the place names certainly, or very probably, connected with the ancient worship. The remarkable fact that the oldest churches were precisely placed on the spots that had been sacred to the heathen gods is commented upon as follows: "Where this is the case we may assume an unbroken continuity as cult center from heathen to Christian times; and closer investigation usually reveals that such a continuity is characteristic of cult places of signal importance." Thus, in Romerike we have the farms *Onsrud* (earlier *Oðinshof*), *Torshov*, *Frøihov*, *Ullinshov*, and a score of similar ones, in immediate proximity to old churches.

In this connection the reviewer took the trouble to estimate the comparative importance, or popularity, if you please, of the various gods from the frequency with which their names occurred among the six hundred mentioned in this book. He found that Frey led (with some forty), closely followed by Ull (about thirty), and at a distance by Thor (some twenty) and Njorð (some fifteen). As might be expected from his late introduction into the North, and corroborating this now generally admitted point, Oðin can claim, at most, some eight places of worship.

In a similar fashion the interested Norwegian may conveniently inform himself of the age-old, aye pre-historic, associations of the places where he, perchance, was born, or which he has visited, or which he hears frequently mentioned by friends or relatives, in books and in newspapers. Is it to be wondered at that the historic sense and the respect for the past, is so much more keenly developed in Scandinavia than in this *nybyggerland* of ours?

During perusal several observations occurred to your reviewer. They are appended in the definite hope that they may be useful in the case of a new edition of this enjoyable and satisfactory book.

It is astonishing to see that the learned author retains the romantic and certainly discarded explanation of the word Edda as *oldemor* (p. 3) without even a reference to the other and better explanations that have been offered.

By a curious slip, no doubt, Sigfried is said to come upon the scene in Mainz (instead of Worms). The stanza from the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II, 38 about the debasing functions awaiting Hunding among the Einheriar is doubtful authority for a trait of life in Valhöll! (p. 50)

It seems much more reasonable to connect *Ullerðall*, (*Buskerud fylke*) p. 228, with *ðall* (**alk-* 'temple' (cf. p. 214): 'Ull's fane,' than with *ðall* "brukt om en langstrakt bygdelag ved sjø eller elv."

The layman can hardly be supposed to know why it is easy to distinguish as comparatively recent a name such as *Diserud*, (p. 216), in comparison with the very old *Disen*, (*Dis-vin*), unless there is a reference to a list of place name suffixes. There is one on page 211 in which, to be sure, the recent suffix *-rud* is not mentioned. Would not this be the strategical place to demonstrate the technique by which Rygh and Munch arrived at results yielding such useful criteria?

Here and there, a certain lack of proportion is noticeable, as when the complete list of the names of valkyries is given, (p. 36) and more important matters are but briefly referred to. Or when full and explicit quotation is made of the obscenities in the *Lokasenna*, which is not exactly called for in a book meant to be read in the schools and in the homes.

University of Texas

L. M. HOLLANDER

ANNOUNCEMENT

On account of the editor's absence in Europe no manuscripts should be sent him during the period from May 25 to September 10, 1924.

OLD NORSE SEMASIOLOGICAL AND ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

I

AFI 'grandfather,' 'man'

The O.N. word *afi* means both 'grandfather' and 'man.' The word is listed in our glossaries¹ under the same heading and not as two different words (as is, for instance, *marr m.* 'sea' and *marr m.* 'steed'), which may lead one to presume that we have here to do with *one* word² which has suffered either a specialization or a generalization of meaning (i.e., either 'man' > 'grandfather' or 'grandfather' > 'man'). Even some etymological dictionaries³ derive O.N. *afi* in both senses from the same root. It is, however, far more probable that O.N. *afi*⁴ 'grandfather' is derived from an entirely different P.G. root (i.e., **ay-an*, cf. Goth. *awô* 'grandmother,' O.N. *ði* 'great-

¹ Cf., e.g., H. Gering, *Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda*, Paderborn, 1896: "*Afi*, m. 1) *grossvater*, 2) *mann* (got. *aba*)."

² Cf., C. C. Uhlenbeck (*P. B. Beitr.*, XXII, p. 188 and XXVII, p. 133) who considers O. N. *afi* in both senses as the etymological equivalent of Gothic *aba*. Uhlenbeck's conclusion is that the primary sense of the word was *father*, from which the sense both of *grandfather* and of *husband* (*man*) can easily be derived.

³ Cf., S. Feist, *Etym. Wörterb. der got. Sprache*, Halle, 1909: "*Aba* m. 'mann, ehemann.' Aisl. *afe* 'grossvater, mann.'" Under Gothic *awô* (p. 39) Feist does not mention O. N. *afi*.

Cf. also Graff's *Ahd. Sprachschatz* 1, 74 under *Appo*: "Cf. Goth. *aba*, *maritus*, *nordisch afi*, *avus*, *pater*."

Also Cleasby-Vigfússon do not seem to distinguish etymologically between O. N. *afi* 'grandfather' and *afi* 'man'; cf. *Icelandic Dictionary* under *afi*, p. 7: "*Afi*, a, m. [cf. Lat. *avus*, Ulf. *avô*=*μᾶμμα*, and *aba*=*ἀνὴρ*, *vir*], grandfather."

⁴ Cf., A. Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb. der Indogerm. Sprachen*, 4. Auflage, Göttingen, 1909, p. 15: "*Aban* m. Mann (eig. der tätige). g. *aba* m. Mann, Ehemann; an. *afi* m. dass."; and p. 22: "*Avan* m. Grossvater, *avôn* f. Grossmutter. g. *avô* f. Grossmutter; an. *afi* m. Grossvater (vgl. *ái* m. Urgrossvater)." Fick shows here that O. N. *afi* 'man' and *afi* 'grandfather' are etymologically two distinct words; nor can it be shown that the roots of these words are related to each other in the Prim. Indo-Eur. Fick connects the root **ab-* (Goth. *aba*) with Lat. *ops*, *opus*, Sanscr. *âpas* 'work'—Goth. *aba*= 'the worker'—and the root **av-* (Goth. *awô*) with Lat. *avus*, *avunculus* 'grandfather,' 'ancestor,' 'uncle' (cf. above). Cf. further Schrader (*Reallex.*, p. 308), Wiedemann (*B. B.*, XXVII, p. 222 f.), Delbrück (*Verwandschaftsnamen*, p. 104 f.), Brugmann (*I. F.*, XV, pp. 15, 94 ff.) and Uhlenbeck (*P. B. Beitr.*, XXX, p. 263).

grandfather') than is O.N. *afi* = 'man' (i.e., P.G. **ab-an*, Goth. *aba* 'man'). Whether these P.G. roots (**ay-an*:**ab-an*) were ultimately related in the Prim. Indo-Eur. or not, does not affect their status as separate roots in Germanic.

1) *AFI* 'man'

The use of *afi* in the sense of 'man' was extremely limited in Old Norse. In prose it occurs in this sense only in the Old Norwegian Laws, and in poetry it is found only three⁵ times, viz., in *Skirn.* 1,6; 2,6 and *Grög.* 5,6 of the *Elder Edda*. In the Old Norwegian Laws the word *afi* 'man' is found most often in the technical phrase *afi eptir afa* 'man after man' (*Dipl. Norv.* IV, 848). The passages from the *Elder Edda* are as follows.

Skirn. 1.

'Rís nú, Skirnir! ok ráð at beiða
minn mála mög,
ok þess at fregna, hveim en fróði sé
ofreiði *afi*.'

"Rise now, Skirnir, and do thou demand a conference with my son, and ask him this, with whom the wise man (*afi*) is so greatly wroth."

These words are spoken by Njörðr, father of Freyr. The word *afi* here is applied to Freyr.

Grög. 5.

'Galdra mer gal þás góðir'u,
bjarg þú, möðir! megi:
á vegum allr hykk at ek verða muna,
þykkjumk til ungr *afi*.'

"Sing me songs, good songs, and protect thy son, O mother; if thou dost, me thinks I shall not perish on the way, me thinks I am too young a *man* (*afi*) [to perish]."

These words are spoken by Svipdagr who exhorts his dead mother to protect him by magic songs upon his perilous journey to Menglōþ.

It is obvious that *afi* in these two passages cannot mean 'grandfather.' Bugge⁶ was the first to point out the fact that

⁵ In reality only twice, since *Skirn.* 2, 6 is merely a repetition of *Skirn.* 1, 6. My quotations from the *Elder Edda* are taken thruout this article from Hildebrand's edition, Paderborn, 1904.

⁶ Sophus Bugge, *Norroen fornkvæði*, Christiania, 1867, p. 90—note on

the word *afi* here is not the same word as *afi* 'grandfather' but is identical with the Gothic word *aba* 'man,' 'husband.' Viewed in this light the word *afi* here not only satisfies the context of the two passages in question (i.e., *afi* = 'man') but it is also etymologically justifiable (*afi* = Got. *aba* < P.G. **ab-an*).

Cleasby-Vigfússon,⁷ though identifying *afi* here with Gothic *aba*, attribute to the word the specialized sense of *boy* or *son*, presumably on account of the fact that Freyr and Svipdagr are both young; Freyr is son of Njörðr and Svipdagr of Gróa. But this fact does not in the least militate against Bugge's assumption that *afi* here means 'man,' inasmuch as the word was a generic term which might be applied either to a young man (as in the *Elder Edda*) or to a man of a younger generation, as in the legal phrase⁸ *afi eptir afa*, 'man after man' = 'son after father,' to which Cleasby-Vigfússon refer in support of their contention (i.e., that *afi* = 'son'). We may presume, then, that the primary sense of the word *afi* (= Goth. *aba*) was not that of 'son' but of 'man,' just as in the case of Gothic *aba*. The meaning 'son,' if it occurs at all, must be secondary as a result of the context.

2) AFI 'man': AFI 'grandfather'

Since P.G. **ab-an* (> Goth. *aba*) and P.G. **ay-an* (cf. Goth. *awō*, O.N. *ái*,⁹ Lat. *avus*) had both become O.N. *afi* (cf. foot-

Skirn. I: "Ordet forekommer ogsaa i *Gróg.* V, 5, L. 6 og er det samme som got. *aba* *árhþ* (i Got. specielt om *Ægtemanden*) af samme Rod som *afí*, *efní* og got. *abrs*, stærk."

⁷ Cleasby-Vigfússon, *Icelandic Dictionary* under *afi*, p. 7: "It is curious to observe that in the poem *Skm.*—whence it is again transferred into *Grógald*r—it is used in the sense of *a boy* or *a son*; cp. as in illustration of this use the Norse phrase—D. N. IV. 848—*afi eptir afa* = *son after father*, *man after man* in uninterrupted succession, in accordance to the Gothic *aba*; *Edda* 108, Fms. IV. 288, VI. 346, XI. 6."

⁸ Cf. also "er *afi* hefir *afa* leift," *Den Ældre Gulatingslov*, 270.

⁹ For the relation of O. N. *ái* to *afi* 'grandfather' cf. A. Kock, "Zur Frage über den *w*-Umlaut," *I. F.*, V, 163 ff. Here Kock maintains that *ái* 'great-grandfather' and *afi* 'grandfather' were originally the same word (i.e., both were derived from P. G. **awa*, corresponding to the Gothic feminine *awō*) but became differentiated in both form and meaning. That Kock considers *afi* 'grandfather' as a different word from *afi* 'man' is clear from his remark (p. 165): "Neben *afi* 'Grossvater,' *ái* 'Urgrossvater' (vgl. got. *awō*) hat das Isl. auch ein *afi* 'Man' (= got. *aba*)."

note 4), it is natural that by reason of this congruence of form the meaning of one of these two originally different words should have superseded the meaning of the other. That the meaning 'grandfather' had superseded¹⁰ the meaning 'man' was doubtless in a large measure due to the fact that there already existed in Old Norse such a large number of words for 'man' (cf. *gumi*, *maðr*, *verr*, etc.).

The occurrence of homonyms with the resultant loss of one or the other of the two originally different words is a very common phenomenon in language. An interesting parallel in Old Norse to the history of *afi* 'man' is that of *allr*¹¹ = 'old' (P.G. **alp-*, Goth. *alp-eis*, W.G. **ald-*). This word **allr* had become identical in form with *allr* = 'all' (Goth. *alls*) and consequently the word **allr* = 'old' gave way to its synonym *gamall* 'old,' just as *afi* 'man' (identical in form with *afi* 'grandfather') gave way (at least in part) to its synonyms *gumi*, *maðr*, *verr*, etc. It may be presumed that **allr* 'old' in pre-historic times existed along side of *allr* 'all,' just as in historic times *afi* 'man' existed along side of *afi* 'grandfather.'

The fact that P.G. **ab-an* 'man' survived only in Gothic (*aba*) and Old Norse (*afi*) and not in West¹² Germanic illustrates the closer relationship between North and East Germanic than between East and West Germanic.

¹⁰ The word *afi* = 'man' is found in poetry only in the *Skirn.* and *Grög.*, both of which were written probably before the middle of the 10th century (cf. Finnur Jónsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, Copenhagen, 1894, I, pp. 175 and 222). After this date we may assume that the word had become obsolete except in certain legal phrases denoting 'succession' or 'heritage.'

In T. Möbius' *Allnordisches Glossar*, Leipzig, 1866, which is based upon certain selected prose texts, the word *afi* is not given at all in the sense of 'man.'

¹¹ Cf. Hjalmar Falk, *Betydningslære*, Christiania, 1920, p. 52.

¹² It is doubtful whether Goth. *aba*: O. N. *afi* is preserved in O. H. G. proper names, as Graff (*Ahd. Sprachschatz*, I, 74) suggests: "*Appo*, *Abbo*, *Apo*, *Ebbo*, *Ebo*, *Effo*, *Ifo*? *Abbi*, nomin. propr. (cf. Goth. *aba*, *maritus*, nordisch *afi*, *avus pater*, auch *Wurzel A B*)."
Graff evidently considers O. N. *afi* 'grandfather' as derived from Goth. *aba* (cf. footnote 3).

II

API:GLAPI 'fool'

1) *Api*

The word *api* 'ape' is found in the *Elder Edda* most often in the sense of 'fool,' and generally in connection with the adjective *ðsviþr* (*ðsvinnr*) 'foolish,' i.e., *ðsviþr api* (cf. *Grimm*. 34, 3, *Hym.* 122, 7, *Fáfn.* 11, 3). In the *Hymiskv.* 21, 3, however, we have the word *api* applied as a generic term for the giants¹³ and it is a question here whether the word implies simply 'fool.'

Hymiskv. 21.

Bað hlunngota	hafra dróttinn
áttrunn <i>apa</i>	útar <i>sóra</i> .

"The lord of the goats (i.e., Thor) bade the descendant of the *apes* (i.e., Hymir) row the boat out farther."

Since the giants were proverbially dull witted, the word *api* here undoubtedly implies the idea of 'fool,' 'simpleton,' but along with this implication we most probably have another sense of the word, viz., 'monster.' The ape is, of course, a hideous creature, a sort of distorted human being both in body and mind. Compared to man he is ugly and hideous. Now, to apply the word *api* to an ugly creature or monster is just as logical and natural as to apply it to a foolish person. As a proof of this assumption we find that in the *Mariu saga* (176^b, 470^a) the word *api* is applied to the Devil who appears in "the shape of an ape" (*i apa mynd*); the Devil is anything but dull witted. Judged in this light, the phrase *áttrunn apa*, as applied to Hymir, probably has reference as much to the hideous appearance of the giants as to their proverbial stupidity.

Parallel to *api* 'monster,' 'fool' is the word *fiþl* 'fool,' 'clown,' 'boor.' In Anglo-Saxon¹⁴ this word (*fiþel*) means 'monster,' and this sense is undoubtedly still preserved in the O. N. compound *fiþl-megir* (*Völsþd.* 51, 5):

fara <i>fiþlmegir</i>	meþ freka allir.
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¹³ Cleasby-Vigfússon, *Icelandic Dictionary*, under *api* (p.23), call attention to the fact that in the *Snorre Edda* a certain giant is called *Api*.

¹⁴ Cf. Falk und Torp, *Norw.-Dän.-Etym.-Wörterb.*, I, p. 222 under *fiþel*: "Wahrscheinlich ist anord. *fiþl* 'einfaltspinsel' (eigentlich wohl 'unhold, riese') und ags. *fiþel* 'ungetüm, riese' verwandt."

The *fiðl-megir* here are the fiends,¹⁵ the monsters of destruction (cf. Angs. *fiðel-cynn*), such as *Fenrir*, the *Miðgarðsormr*, *Surtr*, etc. That *fiðl*, as an independent word, denotes 'fool,' but in compounds denotes 'monster,' 'non-human being' and of 'fool,' just as in the word *api* as applied to the giants.

2) *Glapi*

The word *glapi* 'fool' is found only once in the *Elder Edda* (*Hvm.* 17, 1) and that too only with the intensive prefix *af-*.

Hvm. 17.

Kópir *afglapi*, es til kynnis kómr,
þýlsk hann umb eða þrumir.

"A fool stares (?) when he comes to a feast, he talks to himself or does nothing."

It is evident from the context that *afglapi*¹⁶ here has reference to a *stupid person*, especially one who does not know what to do with himself, a *blunderer*. This interpretation is further supported by the derivation¹⁷ of the word; *glap-i* < **ga-lap-an*; **lap-* 'slip,' 'err,' 'blunder,' therefore **ga-lap-an* (> O.N. *glapi*) 'one who blunders,' 'one who acts like a blunderer,' 'fool.' That the stem **glap-* (older **ga-lap-*) denotes the idea of 'going wrong,' 'mistake,' etc. may be seen in *glap-máll* 'speak vainly of,' *glap-ræðe* 'a blunder,' *glappa-skot* 'a mishap,' *gleppja* (**glap-jan*) 'to make go wrong,' 'deceive.' The stem occurs in another ablaut-form in Norw. *gleppa*, Dan. *glippe* 'to slip' and with the *s*-suffix in the English word *slip*.¹⁸ Isl. *glópr* 'idiot' and Norw. *glop* 'fool' also show a different ablaut-form of the same root **lap-*.

¹⁵ H. Gering (*Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda*, p. 47) translates *fiðlmegir* here: "tolle, blindlings folgende leute." Gering's interpretation, however, is evidently based upon the misconception that *fiðl-* in this compound has the same sense as when used as an independent word.

Cf. likewise J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, 1866: "*Fíðl-megir*, n. pl. *Tosses Sønner: taabelige Mennesker*."

¹⁶ Cf. J. Fritzner, *ibid.*: "*Afglapi* m. *fjantet Menneske, Person af lidet Forstand, som ikke ved at skikke sig iblandt Folk, = heimskr maðr* Fm. VI, 207."¹¹

¹⁷ Cf. Elis Wadstein, "Nordische Bildungen mit dem Präfix *ga-*," *I. F., V.* 21-22.

¹⁸ Cf. also A. Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb. der Indogerm. Sprachen*, 4. Auflage, p. 147 under *glap* 'gleiten.'

It is evident, therefore, that the word *af-glapi* is used here in the *Hvm.* in its primitive sense of 'a blunderer,' 'one who does not know how to act,' and not in the more general sense of 'a fool' (cf. *ðsviþr api*). But the verb *kóþir* with which *afglapi* in this passage is used still offers difficulty. This verb occurs nowhere else in O.N. literature, but according to Ivar Aasen a verb *kópa* 'stare' 'gap' is found in the Modern Norwegian dialects and on this basis O.N. *kópa* is generally interpreted as having the same meaning (i.e., 'stare,' 'gap'). The attitude of 'staring,' 'gaping' is, of course, characteristic of a fool and it is interesting in this connection to note that in Old Norse the root **gap-*¹⁹ often denotes this idea, e.g., in *gaps-maðr* 'a gaping fool,' 'gaby,' *gapa-legr* 'hare-brained,' *gapi* 'rash, reckless man,' etc.

Furthermore, it is possible that both *-glapi* and *gapi* were felt as derivatives of *api*, especially since *api* was most often used as a generic term for 'fool' (cf. *ðsviþr api*), while *-glapi* and *gapi* generally denoted a particular kind of 'fool' (i.e., *af-glapi*²⁰ = 'blunderer,' *gapi* = 'reckless fellow').

III

FÁKR 'steed,' 'horse'

The word *fákr* occurs only once in the *Elder Edda* (*Hymiskv.* 28, 4) and that too only in the compound *lög-fákr* 'steed of the water,' a kenning for *ship*:

Hymiskv. 28.

Gekk Hlórriþi,	greip á stafni,
vatt með austri	upp lögfáki.

That the word *fákr*, however, was frequently used by the poets is clear from Snorre's list of poetic names for horses, one of which is *fákr*: thus from the *Þórgrímspula* (*Edda*, I, 480),
svá heyrðak Fáks of getit

¹⁹ Cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon, *Icelandic Dictionary*, under *gap*, p. 191.

²⁰ In prose *afglapi* was, however, often used as a generic term for 'fool,' 'simpleton,' cf. *fýfl ok (eðr) afglapi*, *Flat.* I, 389^a, *Gisl.* 46; *skiptingr eðr afglapi*, *Fm.* XI, 56. It is possible that this generic sense of the word *afglapi* was favored by the association with *api* 'fool,' 'simpleton'. Sometimes synonyms in Old Norse were identical in form except for the initial consonant (or consonants), cf. *greidr:reidr* 'ready', *fnýkr:hnykr:nykr* 'stench' (so *-glapi:gapi:api* 'fool').

and from the *Kálfsvísa* (*Edda*, I, 482),

Dagr reid Drögli,
en Haki Fáki.

The poetic names or kennings for 'horse,' enumerated by Snorre, all have to do with certain characteristics of this animal, one of which is his *fleetness*.²¹ No etymology for the word *fákr* has as yet been offered but perhaps I may be permitted to suggest the possibility that *fákr* is a poetic synonym for *skær* 'the swift one,' 'racer,' 'steed.'

My suggestion is based upon the assumption that O.N. *fákr* is related to Old Danish (adj.) *fage*²² 'swift,' 'hasty,' 'quick': Jutlandish *fage* 'to hasten, hurry.' The Jutlandish-Danish *fage* presupposes an O.N. root **fak-* with a primary sense of 'quick,' 'fleet,' 'hasty.'

That the root **fak-* is related to the root **fik-* is shown by the fact that in Modern Scan. the latter root likewise means²³ 'to hasten'; cf. Dan. (poetic) *fige* 'to hasten,' Swed. (dialectic) and Norw. (dialectic) *fika* 'to hasten,' altho in literary Swed. and Norw. a secondary meaning 'to long for' has developed. That the primary sense of this verb *fige:fika* denoted a *quick* or *sudden* motion²⁴ is supported by the fact that in Old Norse the verb *fika* is found in the phrase *fika sig upp*²⁵ 'to climb up nimbly as a spider.'

The relation in meaning between *fige* (Dan.):*fika* (Swed.-Norw.) and *fage* (O. Dan.):*fage* (Jutlandish) makes the assumption probable that in Old Norse there existed along side of

²¹ Cf. *Goti* (*gjóla*, 'pour,' 'rush'), *Skævaðr* (cf. *skár* 'steed', *skáva* 'rush forward' = Goth. *slēwjan*), *Skeip-brimir* (*skeid* 'race,' 'course,' *-brimirl*), *Lungt* (cf. Angs. *lungor*, OHG. *lungar* 'swift') and *Vakr* 'nimble,' 'quick.' In *Grm.* 37, 1, one of the horses that drag up the sun is called *Alsviðr* 'allswift.'

Cf., however, B. Kahle ("Altwestnordische Namenstudien," *I. F.*, XIV) who translates (p. 162) *Goti* by 'der Gote,' and sees (p. 165) in the form *Lungt* (*Sn. E.* I, 480) a corrupted text. Regarding *fákr* Kahle says (*ibid.*, p. 159): "Das Wort hat noch keine befriedigende Deutung gefunden."

²² Cf. Falk and Torp, *Norw.-Dän.-Etym. Wörterb.* I, p. 201, under *fage*.

²³ Cf. Falk and Torp, *ibid.*, p. 215, under *fige*.

²⁴ Cf. Falk and Torp, *ibid.*, p. 215, under *fige*: "Die grundbedeutung ist wohl 'kleine, heftige bewegungen machen.'"

²⁵ Cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon, *Icelandic Dictionary*, under *fika*. The word is found only in this phrase and is not mentioned by Fritzner (1866).

fika a synonym **faka* 'to move quickly,' 'to hasten'; cf. Dan. *fige* 'to hasten' = Jutlandish *fage* 'to hasten.' The two O.N. verbs *fika*:**faka* would then stand in ablaut relation²⁶ to each other; the root **fik*:**fak*- denoting the primary sense of 'quick,' 'swift,' 'fleet.' The O.N. noun *fákr* might then be explained as derived from the root **fak*:**fák*-²⁷ (with quantitative ablaut), i.e., **fák-a-R* > *fákr* 'the swift one,' 'the racer,' 'steed.' To be sure, in prose²⁸ the word came to mean particularly 'a jaded horse,' 'a nag' but this meaning is evidently secondary and does not in the least militate against the assumption of a primary meaning 'swift,' 'fleet.'

IV

The end syllable -viss 'wise' in compound adjectives

The adjective *-viss* (= Goth.-*weis*) is often used as the last syllable of a compound adjective to denote certain characteristics of mind or manners, thus *bragð-viss* 'wily,' 'crafty,' *dramb-viss* 'haughty,' *la-viss* 'deceitful,' 'crafty,' *skoll-viss* 'deceitful,' 'wily,' etc. Undoubtedly the original meaning of *-viss* in such compounds was the same as that of the independent word *viss*, viz., 'wise,' 'clever,' 'experienced in,' etc., but in course of time the word lost its original sense and became reduced to the function of a mere adjective-forming syllable (cf. *-ligr*, *-samr*, etc.). In many such compounds the syllable *-viss* no doubt still denoted the sense of 'wise,' 'clever in,' etc., as, for instance,

²⁶ For the ablaut relation *fik*:*fak* cf. L. Germ. *fikfakken* 'hin- und herbewegen,' H. Germ. *fickfacken* 'Ausflüchte suchen' (cf. Falk and Torp, I, p. 216, under *fiks fakseri*).

²⁷ For the long vowel *á* in the noun *fákr* over against the short radical vowel *a* in the verb *faka* compare O. N. *snákr* 'snake':*snaka* 'to rummage, snuff about'; cf. Falk and Torp, II, p. 1089, under *snage*: and Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb. der Indogerm. Sprachen*, pp. 518-519, under *snak*:*snēk*.

²⁸ Cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon, *Icelandic Dictionary*, p. 146: "*Fákr*, m. [Dan. *fagl*], a horse 'uno testiculo,' a jade, in prose, Sturl. I, 40; it occurs in Kormak, and is often used in poetry of any horse."

That the ethical value of the word *fákr* should have declined is not surprising in view of the many other poetical words for steed (cf. *jór*, *marr*, *skár*, *vigg*); cf. Latin *equus*:*caballus*, Germ. *Ross*:*Pferd*:*Gaul*, Eng. *steed*:*charger*:*horse*:*nag*, etc.

in *læ-vtss*,²⁰ but in many other compounds the end syllable *-vtss* could not have denoted this idea, because the meaning of the word to which the end syllable was attached was not consonant with the idea of 'clever,' 'wise,' cf., for instance, *svip-vtss*, 'fickle,' *ugg-vtss* 'fearful.' In these latter cases the end syllable *-vtss* is most certainly reduced to the function of an adjective-building particle³⁰ denoting 'manner,' tendency to,' etc., like *-ligr* and *-samr*. The colorless nature of the end syllable *-vtss* is illustrated, for example, in the adjective *ugg-vtss* which is used synonymously with *ugg-ligr* (cf. Eng. *ug-ly*).

The fading process of this end syllable *-vtss* from its original sense of 'wise,' 'clever' to a mere abstract adjectival ending is natural enough and needs no special comment. Nevertheless, one possible factor in this development might be suggested, viz., the substantive *-vts* (*a*) (cf. *visa* 'to show') which, as an end syllable in compounds, denotes 'way,' 'manner,' cf. *qðru-vts*, *-vtsa*, *-vtssu*; cf. Eng. *other-wise*, Germ. *teil-weise*, Mod. Scan. *del-vis*, etc.

Since the adjective *-vtss*, as an end syllable in compounds, connoted the same general sense of 'manner' as was denoted by the substantive *-vts* in adverbial compounds, we may assume that the end syllable *-vts*³¹ (= 'way,' 'manner') had a share in bringing about the change of meaning in the adjectival ending *-vtss* from 'wise,' 'clever' to 'showing this manner or characteristic'; thus e.g., *læ-vtss* 'clever, wise in evil' > 'showing evil or craft' > 'evil,' 'crafty.'

Certainly this was the case in Anglo-Saxon³² where abstract nouns were formed not only 1) by means of an end syllable *-wtse* (derived from the adjective *-vts* = O.N. *-vtss*) but 2)

²⁰ Often applied to *Loki*, whose cleverness and craft were proverbial, cf. *Lokas.* 54, 7, *enn lævtsi Loki*.

³⁰ Cf. J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, under *vtss*: 5) "Tilbøjelig til, med Tendens til, i de sammensatte Adjektiver: *bragðvtss*, *bólvtss*, *hundvtss*, *uggvtss*."

³¹ It should be noted too that the congruence of form between the end syllable *-vtss* and the end syllable *-vts* 'manner' is extended to feminine abstract nouns ending in *-vtsi* (from the adjective *-vtss*), e.g., *læ-vtsi*, 'craft,' *svip-vtsi*, 'fickleness': *qðru-vtsi*; cf. also *rétt-vtsi*, *rétt-vtsa* 'righteousness': *qðru-vtsi*, *-vtsa*.

³² Cf. Bosworth-Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 1898, p. 1240, under *vts*: "Some of these compounds may be connected with *wtse*."

also by means of the substantive end syllable *-wise* (= O.N. *vfs* (a)) 'manner,' cf. e.g., 1) *riht-wise* (= O.N. *rëtt-vfsi*) 'righteousness' and 2) *cniht-wise* (*-wise* 'manner' = O.N. *-vfs* (a)) 'youth wise,' 'boy's manner.' The abstract *riht-wise* (from the adjective *riht-wts*) might easily be felt as belonging to category 2 (i.e., as a compound ending in the substantive *-wise* 'manner,' just as does *cniht-wise*), especially since the compound *riht-wise* denotes a certain *manner* of conduct (i.e., 'righteousness'), just as does *cniht-wise* (i.e., 'boy's way,' 'boyishness'); cf. O.N. *rëtt-vfsi:-vlsa* with *qöru-vfsi:-vlsa*.

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MARIE SOPHIE SCHWARTZ
A SWEDISH TENDENZ-NOVELIST POPULAR IN
AMERICA

Often a teacher of Scandinavian literature in America is asked by his pupil whether there are or have been any really "popular" novels in the Northern lands. Since the pupil's acquaintance with Scandinavian books is for the most part restricted to translations, and the books translated are not often the popular, happy-ending variety, he has formed an idea—and quite naturally so—that Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish products are exclusively "gloomy and depressing," which treat only the darker aspects of life. The average young American may be willing to read serious foreign things if they are dramatic and contain plenty of action; but as a rule he cares but little for the reflective, descriptive, problematic, and psychological elements that play such a rôle in the North. So he bombards his teacher with queries about Strindberg, Nexö, and Hamsun, that are not only well founded but frequently a bit embarrassing. "Does it do any good to picture all that trouble? And why so many unmarried mothers?"

All these questions recall and emphasize the fact that for half a century no strictly popular Scandinavian writers have been translated or their works circulated in this country; at least, if so, they have not been sufficiently read or advertised. This does not imply that Scandinavia has suffered from a lack of unbound paper-thrillers with conventional endings—granting that these have a certain place in a country's cultural or recreation system, however trivial—but unless works of this type have been able to offer something universal and unmistakably original, and are as good or better than the extraneous product, it has never been commercially worth while translating them. They can not compete in sensationalism with southern Europe or versatile America; their humor is too often of a local character that baffles attempts at translation; and the light historical fiction, so common in Sweden, appeals only to those familiar with the milieu who have some personal, patriotic interest in the events and places. Then,

too, singularly enough, there have always been some distinguished writers in the Scandinavian peninsula and Denmark who evoke an appeal from the maturer, academic, and critical minds abroad—the highbrows—that have constantly been done into other tongues, so that the young student has in the past often received the impression that Scandinavia has produced only first or second-rate “classics,” most of which terminate in some uncertain or definitely calamitous way. One enjoys “certain parts of them,” but on the whole they are unsatisfactory. And why could not the hero and heroine, after suffering for three or four hundred pages, be rewarded with some tangible happiness in the last paragraph, irrespective of motivation, truth, logic, or canons of art? And so on.

It is unfortunate perhaps that the English-reading public so often seems to strike the less cheerful though more artistic, Scandinavian classics first—possibly because of some strange reputation of the author—and that, unless the reader belongs to the thinking minority, he stops reading any more until a new incentive is given. But it was not always thus.

The present writer always informs his sceptical interrogators that there has been and is plenty of humorous, cheerful, thrilling literature—it is not all trash, so I am boldly using the common term for a designation of all—in the North, much of which might well be termed “popular” in the modern American sense. The trouble is, I tell them, that in our own day we have so many large planets on the Scandinavian literary firmament, whose brilliance eclipses the fainter scintillations of the stars of smaller magnitude—or something to that effect. But in the past when there were not so many classical writers to compete for honors of translation abroad, the authors of less heavy prose fiction came to the fore, and became known in other lands. This was the case in the mid-century period, when the semi-popular Swedish coast tales of Emilie Flygare-Carlén, now forgotten by the readers of English, were translated in large numbers and read with extreme interest in America. Her novels did not always end happily, but they were never dull, the surroundings were unique and there was an abundance of excitement. In the early seventies another Swedish woman

found popular favor on this continent, Marie Sophie Schwartz. This novelist occupies but a modest place in the history of Swedish letters; she does not deserve much space in a learned philological journal; she is not a great writer, judged by the austere rules of literary art; the reforms advocated in her works have now lost much of their force; but she possessed a phenomenal ability for plot invention and for teaching the masses without creating the impression of being a preacher; the same translators that did Zacharias Topelius (*The Surgeon's Stories*) and Johan Ludvig Runeberg (*Nadeschda*) into English also translated the didactic romances of Fru Schwartz; and we are inclined to wager without investigation that the end of six months' sales compelled the American publishers to award the palm of practical success to Mrs. Schwartz. Her Tendency-novels of common sense and liberalism merit a brief characterization here because of her vogue in America.

Sophie Schwartz, born Birath, became early an orphan, but was well educated by a relative and moved to Stockholm to study painting. She had, like Fredrika Bremer, an opportunity to observe the traditional prejudices of the existing social order, but she had also personal disappointments. She married at twenty a prominent phrenologist who in spite of rare intellectual attainments proved to have a decided aversion for art and belles lettres, especially if they were pursued by women, and as a result she produced but little of value while her husband was living. She had as a girl tried in vain to place a few manuscripts, and some subsequent contributions to periodicals deserved only the ordinary attention which they received. A number of less ambitious novels, centered about women and domestic life, began to appear in 1852 and gained sufficient public recognition to improve the attitude of her husband, but it was only when this private, and apparently the greatest, encumbrance was removed in 1858, with the death of Professor Schwartz, that her talent found its true expression.

This same year Mrs. Schwartz published *The Man of Birth and the Woman of the People*, which indicated straightway the trend of her purpose and brought her a well-earned popularity. Other works followed in rapid succession, and most of them

supported a definite theme of reform. Her most important novels were all written during the next five years, followed in 1864-1865 by two autobiographical works, so that an unkind critic characterized her extraordinary productivity as "rabbit-like" (kaninartad). It is unfortunate maybe that she had to write for a living. But her productions won favor. They were immediately translated into other languages, including Dutch and Polish, and Germany welcomed many of her *Tendenzstücke* with even greater enthusiasm than did her own countrymen. A selection of her works in forty-four volumes began to appear in Leipzig in 1865, a more pretentious edition was published in Stuttgart a few years later in fifty-nine volumes, and through an attractive honorarium offered by a German publisher her later works appeared in Germany before they were published in Sweden. Shortly before the death of the authoress, a selection of her novels was published in Stockholm in eighty-nine parts. Several of her best works have recently been republished in more accessible editions and widely circulated both in Scandinavia and the United States, which should greatly increase the sound influences of Mrs. Schwartz among the Swedish-reading people.

At least a dozen of Mrs. Schwartz's novels have been done into English. The above-mentioned work appeared in London in 1868, followed in 1871-1874 by eleven others, in America, published in four different Eastern cities, and translated jointly by Selma Borg, a Swedish lady, and Marie A. Brown, an American. Judging by contemporary press reviews and the condition of some library copies of these translations, they must have been tremendously popular. An American announcement of her novels in 1871 claims that: "Her novels have been read with avidity by six European nations, and America is now sharing the feast which so many other countries have enjoyed—The four* works already published have met with great success." We may believe this, otherwise the enterprising publishers would not have put any more on the market. One of these

* By the end of 1871 five translations had appeared: *Guilt and Innocence*, *Birth and Education*, *Gold and Name*, *The Right One*, and *The Wife of a Vain Man*.

translations, *Guilt and Innocence*, is dedicated to the Swedish singer Christine Nilsson, who had made a successful tour of America in 1870 and "whose cordial tribute to her countrywoman prepared a warm welcome for her works in America."

Mrs. Schwartz was a successor to Karl Anton Wetterbergh (1804-1889), the Swedish literary sponsor of current democratic tendencies, and undoubtedly owes something to him. But she had independent ideas, drew her own conclusions from her wide observations, and in course of time developed a self-reliant method and style of writing. She had always been a studious reader in Swedish literature and history, especially in the Swedish conflicts with Russia; she had studied Lamartine, and the French Revolution; and, after a recommendation to read the English novelists received a salutary guide in Dickens. The inspiration from Dickens may be noticeable in the easy dialogue of her narrative, in the large variety of characters, and in the desire to portray classes of society as they are. But outside influences are too intangible to be detected with any definiteness, and the Swedish authoress was much too original to copy directly from anybody. Besides, Mrs. Schwartz did not always find an exact counterpart of English social conditions in Sweden, and different conditions meant a modification in treatment. She deals mostly with skilled laborers, artists, or noblemen; Dickens more with the less fortunate classes. The former move on a higher plane, whether laborers or noblemen, and speak a more correct and elevated, though plain, language; while Dickens rightly uses dialect for the lower classes and penetrates far deeper into the misery of the poverty-stricken proletariat. The average reader of today will find Mrs. Schwartz, I believe, far more palatable than Dickens. She possessed a peculiar genius for infusing teachings into a novel without impairing the charm of the narrative. *Guilt and Innocence* is one of the best sermons ever preached or written against the old-fashioned fallacy of cursing a son for the sins of his fathers, and yet a college woman described it recently to the writer as "next to *The Count of Monte Cristo* the most fascinating novel" she had ever read. The same is true of *The Son of the Organ-Grinder* (1863),

generally considered by Swedish critics to be her best novel, where hard work, uprightness, and knowledge succeed against fearful odds in obliterating inherited disgrace.

Sophie Schwartz's greatest claim to a place among popular Swedish novelists and reformers lies in this ability to fuse effectively the motives of reform with the story. Even the *Tendenz*-novels of her more distinguished predecessor and contemporary, Miss Bremer, whose works were read with so much deserving enthusiasm in America about seventy-five years ago, are much less interesting to the modern reader than those of Mrs. Schwartz. The later worked on broader, and perhaps more urgent lines which appealed both to the common people and the higher classes—though I am not so sure about their appeal to some members of the contemporary nobility—whereas Fredrika Bremer's depth and surcharge of feminism, which often overbalanced the narrative, appealed more to an exclusive, intellectual type of reader. Both are alike in clearness of thought and in the universality of their rational effect, but the emotions of Mrs. Schwartz strike nearer home, and the truths of life are expressed with bolder and more epigrammatic force. Then, too, she had the advantage of knowing a mother's love. However, a potent reason for the success of Mrs. Schwartz's productions was undoubtedly her happy choice of a main theme (now a little out of date): the attack on the overbearing nobility. This was ever a refreshing subject among the other classes in conservative Sweden and suggested a welcome change in the whole social and political system of the country.

Mrs. Schwartz, however, is no extremist; no unsound radicalism mars her views. Heaven knows, there has never been a dearth of "reformers" in this world; but few have approached their task with a saner attitude toward the burning questions of the day than this woman. If the present writer were asked to characterize her novels in one word, he might answer *wholesome*. She has been accused of onesidedness toward the upper stratum in society, and not without cause perhaps; but bias seems to be a part of any reforming mission. She never tears down a social structure without some suggestion

as to how to build a better one. She is a constructive critic—if anything too idealistic in her remedies of dominant difficulties—who lays her foundations on the honest effort and independence of the individual. Very far-reaching in her purpose, one must read a dozen or more of her novels to obtain a comprehensive perspective of her scope. She attacks *all* forms of abused aristocracy, whether of heredity, wealth, or intellect; and weakness is as contemptible as arrogance. A nobleman is not necessarily bad because he is a nobleman by inheritance, but he is exposed to greater temptations by tradition, since he has not earned his title, and too often takes undue advantages. Again, the lure of money alone is just as disastrous as an empty title, and the toiling laborer who cringes before his superior is a despicable weakling.

In *Gold and Name* (1863), where an English nobleman through necessity, and with the help of a German marriage broker, marries a wealthy Swedish orphan who vainly wants a title, we are made to feel at once that the nobleman is a giant who sweeps away the Lilliputians of the lower classes at will. Money spent on educating the heroine, a clothes-dealer's daughter, is considered wasted, and when she is bitten by a nobleman's dog she is treated to a scolding for trespassing. Armida, on the other hand, is the most contemptible, jealous, intriguing little snip of a female aristocrat that was ever introduced into a novel. And the conditions described—those of sixty years ago—are probably not so exaggerated as one might suppose today when many counts and barons are glad to do any kind of menial labor. *Two Family Mothers* (1858) contrasts—Mrs. Schwartz was passionately fond of contrasts—a sensible and sympathetic mother with an aristocratic fool who makes life miserable for herself and everybody else by her despotic and desperate search for a son-in-law of noble birth. Here we find a fierce contest between rank and wealth, on one hand, and virtue, deeds, genius, culture and knowledge, on the other. The daughter of Madame von Krug may kiss her mother's *hand* only, for such is the law in fine society; the cruelty toward servants is typical; and Madame von Krug's greatest humiliation is to be introduced to others

without the *von*. Then, when her daughter falls in love with a physician who is the son of her own gardener, Madame's cup of misery is full.

There is no romantic medievalism in the tales of Mrs. Schwartz. The Middle Ages mean oppression, and an old castle with its portrait galleries of decorated ancestors is a symbol of might and injustice. Gabrielle in *Birth and Education* (1861) is purported to represent the "liberalism, free thought, enlightenment and culture" of the modern age; while Count Ernfrid Eldau is the representative of the prejudices and aristocratic notions of past times. The former is "glad, free, unconquerable, and spirited as liberty;" the latter stiff, cold, and harsh as the times of rude force. And yet we are significantly given to understand that many of these maligned ancestors were infinitely better than the idle, effeminate *editions de luxe* of the present day. In *The Children of Labor* (1864, reprinted in America, 1894) an old baron on board a steamer finds that a fellow passenger, an artist, has something altogether "too roguish" in his nature to "spring from any of our more noble families," but fails to observe a count lying on a sofa near by, in a position that is anything but dignified.— But there is another side to the question; and commoners should not in pride or vanity over their own accomplishments exalt themselves over those of high station who have demonstrated their intrinsic worth. *The Nobleman's Daughter* (1860) teaches the familiar moral that the title of nobility consists of service, for which plebeian and nobleman alike may be candidates.

Depicting, as she does, all evils of misalliances which are enforced through vanity, parental match-making or other external circumstances, Mrs. Schwartz's women characters become submissive creatures who bear their burdens with strong and passive Stoicism. Her men suffer the same way, and become models of an almost fanatic self-control and self-determination, the victims of an unrelenting social order. Needless to say, the cure for misalliances is voluntary marriage based, among other equalities, on economic independence.

A traditional Swedish weakness, particularly among the

leaders of society of the last century, is the partiality for things foreign. As a boy the writer never heard a more bitter censure of the wealthier classes than that directed against their constant importation of wines and luxuries. Nothing produced greater feeling of discontent among the urban laboring circles or among tenants of well-to-do landowners. If the ruling classes insisted upon clinging to certain weaknesses, let them be such as redound to some form of native advantage. So *Guilt and Innocence* becomes a protest against this source of discontent. The heroine, Skuldfrid, returns to Stockholm as the heralded singer, Madame Dorbino, and receives a tremendous ovation. Why? Because she has been honored in Paris and London.

Birth and Education is an exposition of religious intolerance and fanaticism portrayed against a background of the French Revolution. It is a plea for liberty, broadmindedness, and universal brotherhood. When the novel was written, only members of the Luthern Church were admitted to full citizenship in Sweden, and Mrs. Schwartz registered a protest. But the work is not directed against the Swedes alone. The Jew is just as bigoted and orthodox as the Catholic or the Lutheran, and either one considers it disaster to fall in love with one of the other faith. Marriage is of course, according to the author, impossible. (She had not seen the America of 1924!) But education ought to level the barriers between people of different religious convictions. It does not make us equal, to be sure, for different individuals absorb different kinds and degrees of culture; but it should point the way toward a common meeting-ground. Sophie Schwartz denounces the contemporaneous anti-Semitism among the nobles, and yet the democratic French Jew, Elias, whose own father in 1789 had followed the proceedings of that Revolutionary Assembly which abrogated the "inherent rights of the nobility, as opposed to democratic principles," becomes the most undemocratic father when he comes to consider the future welfare of his own children. He would rather see his offspring in their coffins than to "sin" against the faith of his forefathers.

In these days of labor troubles and minimum production,

Mrs. Schwartz's best contribution to the cause of sensible democracy is her simple, strong apotheosis of work. Honest labor is the best remedy for the sick soul, the panacea of all evil, the reprobate's best opportunity for regeneration; and idleness is the worst of all possible sins. Work gives the only true patent of nobility and commands universal respect. This is the thesis of *Work Ennobles the Man* (1859) and *The Children of Labor*, where everything, Utopian-like, yields to personal effort. A favorite theme of the author is to take two characters, brothers for instance: one works and succeeds; the other does not and fails. The laborer should be protected, however,—anticipating modern legislation in this particular—and opportunity given for his improvement.

The writer has indicated before (in "American Ideals Among Women Writers of Sweden," *Studies*, V, 157-168) that America is represented as the ideal of the modern industrial, progressive democracy in the novels of Sophie Schwartz. Just as she sends her artist-characters to Italy for training, so she sends her gifted mechanics to the United States for instruction. The hero, Ivar, studies mechanical engineering in New York, under the direction of a Swedish-American, however, Captain John Ericsson, which has an historical counterpart in the life of Alfred Nobel, who actually studied that subject in New York, 1850-54, under his noted fellow-countryman. America is the land of freedom and modernity, which appreciates the honor of labor and casts off time-honored but worn-out prejudices. We get a glimpse of the immigrant, the melting-pot, of New York and "dear Boston," and a splendid tribute, borrowed from Fredrika Bremer, is paid to the Massachusetts Insane Asylum. Interesting is the belief of the Swedish novelist that the American does not marry money as an exclusively business proposition so quickly as does the European who has the same chance.

A word about the attitude of Sophie Schwartz toward the woman question. "We live in a time, mother," says Albert in *Two Family Mothers*, "when one demands of woman something more than ability to crochet, embroider, draw, play the piano, and behave according to the conventional rules of society. One demands that she shall be a *thinking being* with a knowledge

of what has occurred and is now going on in the world." Do not put birth above culture. Madam von Krug cared more for the *von* in her husband's name than for his title of *professor*. As a result he forgot his wife and children, sought company in his books only, and when he died his only regret was that he had not finished his work on logic.

The Mania for Emancipation (1856), which so far as the writer has been able to determine, has never been translated into English, is a delightful, unassuming plea for common sense in matters pertaining to the woman movement. It is a well-balanced exposition of positive and negative material for both sexes, written in a light vein. Three young ladies, who have been inoculated with the germ of woman's emancipation in a boarding school for girls, set about to free their sex from slavery, to remain unmarried, and, incidentally, to wrench for themselves a hitherto denied immortality. One goes dressed in man's clothes, smokes cigars, goes hunting, and does various foolish things that do not shock us any more. Descending to exaggeration, ridicule, and caricature, the novelist has her plant both wheat and potatoes on the same field at the same time to insure the maximum yield, and makes her build a two-story house without a staircase. Another girl sets out for Stockholm, under parental protest, to become a second Jenny Lind; and the third is to become a novelist that will rival George Sand and Fredrika Bremer. All are talented, all are spurred on by opposition from the male sex, and all are fundamentally good women. But they go too far, disregard their womanly duties entirely, and overestimate their own powers. They had forgotten that roses and thorns grow on the same bush, that more freedom means more responsibility, and that the road to fame is paved with untold difficulties and suffering. Entering a masculine field of activity they could not take refuge behind the privileges of woman. In this book, therefore, the three amazons are shipwrecked on rocks of vanity, ambition, and shortsightedness. But they have learned much from their experiences, and in the interim—for the sake of the reader—three young educated and independent gentlemen, who have thrown off their prejudices and adopted a sensible attitude

toward the woman's problem, appear and pilot the feminists to safety in the ordinary way. The novel was obviously written under English influence and English women are taken as the ideal.

It is not always easy to detect Mrs. Schwartz's innermost opinions on the feminist question. Her women, whether emancipated or not, are ever portrayed as the chief and "most beautiful ornament" of the *home*. Unlike Miss Bremer, who focuses her attention on the liberation of the spinster, Mrs. Schwartz emphasizes the value of culture to the married woman; for, as we have noted, marriage should be based in large part upon economic independence, and the latter requires systematic study and training of some sort. At any rate, give the woman a chance to develop whatever talents she may have, and then she can do as she pleases about the matrimonial question. The substance of the last-mentioned novel is, therefore: do whatever you can do, well, but remain a woman while doing so. The details of the future will take care of themselves. Anna Maria Lenngren, the Swedish poetess, becomes the type of the ideal combination of genius and household virtues. Mrs. Schwartz lived to see greater reforms inaugurated than she had ever anticipated, both for married and unmarried Swedish women, and in the history of Scandinavian feminism she should be given credit for supporting a sensible method of procedure.

Sweden, then, has some popular fiction that, strange to say, would satisfy not only the moral requirements of a straight-laced Puritan but could well furnish plots for the thrill-seeking devotees of the cinematograph. Mrs. Schwartz is intentionally superficial—call it shallowness if you will—in order to bring out her didactic thesis; her novels are harmless, yet curiously entertaining.

A word more about this author's technique. Besides a practical code of ethics inbedded in a well-sustained plot, she has a good sense of humor, an excellent exposition, a rapid movement, plenty of letters, and dramatic romances. Since her main literary object—her practical object is of course to sell her books and if possible do some good by selling them—

is to picture characters, the chief merit of the novels is found in the dialogue, and, although there are evidences of nature-enthusiasm, no descriptions of places are introduced unless absolutely necessary for the narrative. References are often given to other authors, both foreign and indigenous, and one heroine is forbidden to read Walter Scott's romances. Mrs. Schwartz is seldom sensational and the sanguinary element is relatively unimportant. Duelling is discouraged. We see that it is possible to have an interesting story without blood and murder. There is generally a mass of past history to be unearthed—the nobleman seldom has a clean slate—there is often a surprise at the end that will baffle the most inventive mind or imagination; there are scoundrels, of course, who get their just deserts, unless saved by an angelic Christian like the heroine in *Ellen*; the number of conventional absurdities is reduced to a minimum; and when the curtain falls, two or three couples have been united "for better, for worse," and the hero lives long enough to rock his grandchildren.

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REVIEWS

Selections from the Writings of Kierkegaard, translated by L. M. Hollander'
Adjunct Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Texas. Comparative Literature Series No. 3, University of Texas Bulletin, July 8, 1923. Austin, Texas.

The task of translating Kierkegaard adequately is in every way comparable to the task of translating poetry of the highest order. The unique individuality of Kierkegaard's style, the richness and fullness of mood that everywhere underlies his phrasing, the depth of passion that constitutes the stream on which these moods are borne, the subtlety of allusion and the wealth of imaginative coloring in the material—all these things combine with the rigorous exactness of his thought and of the terminology in which it finds expression, to make extraordinary demands upon the translator. If he enters sympathetically into the spirit of the original, so as to feel it from the inside rather than merely observing it from the outside (and if he does not do this, he cannot very well translate adequately), then he is in danger of being so hypnotized by the idiom of the author, so powerfully impressed by the idiosyncracies of the language in which he wrote, not as a stranger but as a son of the household, that he loses himself linguistically, and to some extent forgets the idiom of the language into which the translation is to be made. Hence it requires both time, talent, and much self-discipline to enable the translator to liberate himself from this influence, recapture his independence, and assume a thoroughly objective and critical attitude over against his stylistic material.

In this matter of the difficulties that stand in the way of an adequate and attractive translation of Kierkegaard, the present reviewer speaks from the vantage-ground of a little experience. This experience has been such as to imbue him with a degree of humility when essaying the rôle of a critic of other translators, having been impressed both with the magnitude of the task and the limitations of his own powers. He appreciates, he hopes fully, the courage and enthusiasm of Professor Hollander in breaking new ground in this difficult field; and he is glad to note the considerable measure of his success. Nevertheless, candor compels him to say, what the translator himself would doubtless be first to avow, that the present translation had best be regarded from the standpoint of a tentative experiment, rather than be judged as if it laid claim to a definitive success. For the casual reader will inevitably soon come upon passages which trouble him with their unaccustomed and somewhat awkward turns of expression, and there is danger that he will then lose much of the pleasure which he should be able to derive from the reading of one of the world's great masters of literary style.

Professor Hollander has not made his task easier by the nature of his selections. These include half a dozen *Diapsalmata*, the banquet scene from *Stages on Life's Road* (*In vino veritas*), about one third of *Fear and Trembling*, the first part of *Preparation for a Christian Life*, and a considerable number of selections

from *The Present Moment*. The selections are long enough to make a definite impression upon a reader who is otherwise unacquainted with Kierkegaard, and they cover both the earlier and the latest phase of his literary activity. They omit, however, any specimens from the intermediate phases of his style and thought, such as might be afforded by a chapter from the *Philosophical Chips*, a section from the *Unscientific Postscript*, or a discourse from *The Works of Love*. The reader gets an impression from the two extreme nuances of Kierkegaard's varied style—the hectic eloquence of his earlier esthetic manner with its satanic verve, to borrow Professor Hollander's very happy characterization, and on the other hand the powerfully stirring style of the agitator addressing himself to a popular audience, "chiselling his scorn into linguistic form," as Brandes puts it, and hammering "the word until it shapes itself into the greatest possible, the bloodiest injury." These two types of selection exemplify the old adage that extremes meet, while the calmer and more leisurely style of his philosophical exposition, by which perhaps he more surely belongs to the future and to the world, obtains little or no representation. There is, however, no reason to quarrel with Professor Hollander for what he has not given us, but every reason to be grateful to him for what he has given us. I only wish to point out that the selections offered are among the most difficult to translate in the whole range of the Kierkegaardian literature. *Fear and Trembling* is lyric prose surcharged with high emotion; and to make it doubly difficult, it is a "dialectical" lyric. *In vino veritas* would challenge the genius of any philosophical poet, and the other selections do not come far behind these in difficulty. Let the reader who feels a degree of dissatisfaction with some of the passages of the translation attempt for himself a sentence or two, or a paragraph or two, and I am convinced he will have reason to estimate more justly and sympathetically the obstacles which Professor Hollander has only partly overcome.

It would be both a futile and a thankless task to examine some of these obstacles in detail. I shall content myself with the remark that in the two or three passages where the translator complains of a lack of clearness in the original, a somewhat closer study, so at least it seems to me, might have revealed the meaning without ambiguity. Certainly this is the case on page 215 of the translation, and I think also on pp. 82, 198, and 191.

The critical and biographical introduction with which Professor Hollander has prefaced his translations, is an astonishingly sympathetic and exceedingly accurate interpretation, considering the fact that the author comes to his subject from a point of view and a background fairly remote from the Lutheran ecclesiastical traditions which constitute Kierkegaard's point of departure. It goes without saying that many things in this introduction have interested me, and I shall take the liberty to discuss a few of them here. I assume that most of my readers will agree with me that to describe the ordinary primary and secondary education received by a Danish child of Kierkegaard's period, even in a pietistic family, as one in which religion was "the be-all and the end-all" is to invite misconception of the actualities, however true it might be that this was the pious intention, often expressed, and however firm was the insistence upon the importance of the catechism. And while the natural sciences played a very

subordinate rôle in secondary education, it is not quite accurate to say that they played no rôle whatever (p. 13). We must in any case guard ourselves against accepting the ordinary implications of such statements, remembering that H. C. Oersted was a "product" of the same sort of school influences; indeed, I am quite convinced that the boys of that period had about as precise a notion of science as a result of their inadequate training in the subject, as most of our college freshmen have, in spite of the boasted scientific spirit of modern education.

But these are matters of minor importance. Of more significance is the full and very intelligent account given of Kierkegaard's magisterial dissertation: *Irony, with constant reference to Socrates*. The one point on which I might be inclined to take issue with the translator concerns the degree to which he seems to make Kierkegaard fully conscious of his own spiritual kinship with Socrates thus early in his intellectual and moral development. The "negativity" which Kierkegaard recognizes in Socrates at the time of the dissertation, receives a new and radically different import, ethically and metaphysically, in the *Unscientific Postscript*; and in his journal he makes the confession that the rebuke which the dissertation administers to Socrates for his lack of "positiveness" was a piece of stupidity chargeable to the influence of Hegel. However, I cannot agree with Professor Hollander that it was the failure to recognize the positive import of the Socratic maieutic, which constitutes a fault in the dissertation; on this subject there would be a great deal to say, but the limits of a review, and the nature of this periodical, forbid my going into detail. In his treatment of the 'indirect method' Professor Hollander makes it appear that its meaning as an instrument serviceable in a polemic against the Christianity of the Church, was present to Kierkegaard in the beginning. This was surely not the case; rather was the method first conceived of as a polemic against estheticism, frivolity and worldliness, with an eventual retirement into the service of the Church in some humble capacity thought of as the final denouement and explanation. It was only later that he became aware of the impossibility of such a step, and of the necessity of using the method *against* Christendom as such, and *against* the Church itself as the chief demoralizing force in Christendom.

Professor Hollander thinks, as other critics have thought before him (Brandes, Höffding), that a good dose of French and English empiricism would have been an antidote for the speculative tendency of Kierkegaard's mind, fostered by the "bloodless abstractions" of German metaphysics. Aside from the fact that the romantic movement in German philosophy was not exactly "bloodless," whatever other faults it may have had, I doubt very much whether this so-called empiricism would have had any message for Kierkegaard's mind. We must not forget that Kierkegaard was in reality a much more concrete thinker than either Comte, Mill or Spencer ever dreamed of being, in the same sense that Socrates was a more concrete thinker than the Greek representatives of the natural-scientific trend of thought who preceded him. Socrates, it is well known, studied natural science in his youth, and gave promise of entering upon a brilliant career as a philosopher of the Greek conventional type; but he soon discovered that "physics was not man's proper business, and began to

philosophize about moral matters on the streets and in the market-places" (Diogenes Laertius). The truth is that nineteenth century empiricism, with its absorption in the description and explanation of natural facts, and its tendency to depend upon natural science almost exclusively for the categories with which to interpret the life of the human spirit, was so incorrigibly abstract and remote from life as fully to deserve the same characterization that Kierkegaard applies to the speculative idealists, that they suffer, namely, from an absent-mindedness which verges upon a ridiculous distraction. In his rich imaginative and poetic endowment, in his passion for sincerity and personal assimilation, and in the ethical, non-sentimental Christianity which he inherited from his father, Kierkegaard had an 'antidote' against speculative aloofness from life, if one were needed, far superior to scientific studies, which are always somewhat abstract in themselves, and which in the case of the empiricists misled them into the formulation of a shallow, half-popular, compromising philosophy of life, of exceedingly doubtful permanent value.

I will touch upon only one point more. When Professor Hollander characterizes Kierkegaard's individualism as aristocratic, he apprehends only one side of it, the esthetic. Fundamentally, his individualism was religious, and therefore democratic in the best if not the only real sense of that much abused term. And when he further says that its aim was, "not to transform, but to transcend the existing social order," it tempts me to propose an amplification of the formula, to guard it against the usual misunderstandings. It was the spirit of Kierkegaard's individualism, not to seek a transformation of the existing social order in order to make it possible for the individual to transcend it and find his truest self; but that the individual should be challenged to transcend the existing social order and find himself, thus making it possible for that order to be transformed. His individualism consists in conceiving the task as one which must be attacked from within outward, instead of from the outside inward.

Let me once more thank Professor Hollander for calling attention in this effective way to a thinker of whom we are destined to hear more some day, both in England and America.

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The Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá (Speculum Regale) according to the chief Manuscript, AM 243 β a, Fol. By George T. Flom. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. University of Illinois Press. 1922. Pt. I. *The Noun Stems and the Adjectives*. Pp. 152.

Professor Flom's facsimile edition of the *Konungs Skuggsjá* was published in 1916. He has now followed up this work with the present scholarly study of the language of the ms., dealing here with the noun stems and the adjectives, to be followed shortly by Pt. II,¹ which will discuss the adverbs, pronouns, prepositions, and verbs.

The *Konungs Skuggsjá* occupies an important place in Old Norse literature and the ms. itself (Codex 243 β a of the Arnamagnean collection of the University

¹ Now in press.

of Copenhagen Library) stands foremost among the manuscripts that have been preserved from the classical period of Old Norse, and the work undertaken by Professor Flom was both needed and opportune.

This is the first published complete investigation of the work in question. Oscar Brenner published his edition in 1881, but the promised study of the language never appeared.

Professor Flom has been very thorough. His method of classification both of nouns and adjectives is the usual one, as may be observed, e.g., in Noreen's *Grammatik*. All the nouns occurring in the text have been included, alphabetically arranged, each under its own stem. In the treatment of the adjectives such completeness has not seemed necessary. The author has here included the adjectives exhibiting noteworthy forms or meanings, and where compounds and derivatives appeared to merit mention they have also been discussed. A complete list of compound adjectives is offered. The study closes with the comparison of adjectives.

The definitions cover all the meanings in which the words are used in the text, fully illustrated, where required, not only from the ms. itself, but also from other sources. Under each independent word the compounds have also been cited. References are constantly made to the page, column, and line, of the ms. In the matter of orthography the original is faithfully adhered to, though quite properly it has not always seemed necessary in print to reproduce the various types of letters, like, e.g., *r* and *s*. However, in certain cases the author has even here followed the distinction observed by the ms. One instance is the small capital *ʀ*, where it seemed uncertain whether the symbol is used as abbreviation for the double letter or intentionally by the scribe to vary the form of writing. Another instance is the use of *y* and *p* representing *u* or *v*. The author has discussed these points thoroughly in the facsimile edition, *Introduction*, pp. XXIII., XXV. and XXXVII.

It is to be hoped that the author will be able to carry out a promise, tentatively made, of including in a subsequent study a treatment of the phonology and the syntax. A discussion of the dialect of the scribe and the date of the ms. as evidenced by the language of the text has been given already in the facsimile edition, pp. LIX.—LXVI.

Professor Flom is fortunate in possessing a thorough knowledge of modern Norse dialects, especially that of Sogn. This information he has drawn upon to note the survival of Old Norse forms and uses in present day speech. Such forms are cited, though not in every case, and with frequent reference to locality.

The reviewer in perusing the text has been tempted to cite additional forms by way of illustration. For this I hope to be pardoned. In so doing I have limited myself to forms occurring in the dialect with which I am most familiar, namely, that of Valdres (V.).

P. 16. *fiotur*, fetter.—V. *fjǫlltrǫp*, v., to fetter; cast a spell over some one, making him incapable of motion.

gongr, walk, course, path.—v. *gang*, pl. *ganga*, same meaning; passage, corridor. Also *gong*, f; pl. *gonge*, act of going, path, small passage. Cf. *Cpd. rettargong*, f., trial (court).

P. 22. *prætt*, trick.—V. *prætt*, f.; pl. *prætto*.

psalmr, hymn.—The author notes that in Norse dialects today this word is usually *salma*, f. or *salme*, m. But in V. the form is *sas̄m*; pl. *sas̄ma*.²

P. 31. *gabb*, ridicule, mockery.—This word has found its way into several Romance languages (see Körting, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*). Its most interesting occurrences are perhaps in the OFr. poem, *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. Fr. *gab*, *gabement*, verb, *gaber*. See Koschwitz, *Karl des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem*, vocabulary, p. 96.

P. 43. *skrif*, stride, pace, crotch.—The author discusses the orthography of this and similar words, e.g., *drif*, now variously written *drif* and *dref*. "In Iceland the word in question is written *skref* today, while in Norw. it is commonly *skriv*."—The reviewer is not convinced that this is correct.—"Aasen writes *skrev* (*i*) as the pronunciation for Sogn, Dalarne, Agder, and West Telemarken, quoting *sitja ti skrivs*, and the verb *skreva* or *skriva* (In Trondhjem the form is *skræv*, and the verb *skræva*)."—V. *skrev*, vb. *skreva*; cf. *drev*, *snjødrev*, n., drifting (of snow); *snjødrevø*, f., snow drift.

skrimsl, terror-inspiring object, monster.—V. *skrymsl*, same meaning; *skrymslø*, f.; plural, *skrymslo* (more common), terror-inspiring object or person; spook, ghosts.

P. 53. *kyckvænnde*, living creator. —Error for creature.—"Cf. Icel. *kvikindi* and Norw. dial. *kvikinde*, *kvikjende*, 'Dyr, levende Skabning', Sæt.; in Valdres, *kjukand*, n. 'et Fæ', Aasen." —Aasen's definition for Valdres is not quite exact. *Kjukand* means "creature," "fellow," "funny person," *du æ eit rart kjukand*, you are a queer thing (or person).

P. 85. Note 119, citing *ermiti*, &c. 2 In the Norw. diall. the word is today *eremit*.—I take *eremit* in the dialects to be merely a loan word from the Danish.

P. 120. *noglig*, abundant.—V. *nokolē*, quite, somewhat; a good deal.

P. 122. *liotr*, homely, ugly.—V. *ljøtø*, *ljøtt*; *dū ljøtø beist*, you ugly beast.

The list of forms cited in the present work, that have survived in the dialects considered, might be extended considerably. Only a few of the most striking ones have been included here. Many of the forms and usages cited by the reviewer are not quoted in the dictionaries to which he has had access. I know, however, that the examples quoted are correct. I hope they may not be without interest to students of Professor Flom's treatise.

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² I write thus (§) the so-called "thick *l*," peculiar to many Norse dialects.

ON DRAMATIC THEORY IN THE NORTH FROM HOLBERG TO IBSEN

II

ADAM OEHLenschlaeger and JENS E. BAGGESEN¹

In 1757, hence only three years after Holberg's death, the first French tragedy was put on the boards at Copenhagen. And so the classical form with its heroes and high themes, its declamation in alexandrines, and its unities, had at last been introduced to the Danish theatre public.² The play (which was Voltaire's *Zaïre*, in a good translation by Barthold J. Lodde) took the people by storm. The new form was proclaimed as the only proper one for all serious drama; hereafter none other could be thought of. "No one had ever before listened to such beautiful declamations, nor seen such tender and noble feelings portrayed in so touching a manner," says one writer.³ *Zaïre* had considerable success also later in Copenhagen, having received as many as twenty-five performances at the Royal Theatre. Nevertheless, the history of performances at the Royal would indicate that the very favorable reception mentioned was rather on account of the play than the French tragedy as such. P. Hansen in *Den Danske Skueplads*, I, 251, notes the fact that French tragedy has never had an abiding place at *Kongens Nytorv*; for we find that during the following years only Corneille's *Polyeucte*, and Voltaire's *Mérope* were given, both of these in 1864, the former twice. Otherwise only Racine's *Athalie* appears and that as late as 1890, and then played only a few times.⁴ However, if we would look for the reasons for this later scarcity of the French classics the events of the year 1772 must be reckoned with; we shall come to this presently. The fifteen years that followed, that is then 1757-1772, is surely characterized by a general acceptance of French tragedy and comedy in Denmark as the model and pattern of dramatic art;

¹ Part I, Ludvig Holberg, appeared in *Scandinavian Studies*, VII, pp. 91-101.

² Classical French comedy had been played at the Royal Theatre long before.

³ Chr. Dorph, *Danske Forfattere*, XVII, p. 7 of the *Indledning*.

⁴ Hansen, l. c., p. 517.

and it is further characterized by a growing neglect of native material, and a transplanting into Danish of drama on a rather large scale, from Germany, from Italy, and from Spain. In the meantime, while as early as 1758, Holberg's thirty-one comedies had all been definitely added to the repertory of the Royal Theatre, it was only *Maskerade*, *Juleaften*, *Jeppe paa Bjerget*, *Den Stundesløse*, and *Plutus*, that continued to enjoy the favor of the public. Such others as *Erasmus Montanus*, and *Den Politiske Kandestøber* were not much wanted; Holberg performances became fewer and fewer during the period, in the face of this foreign influence.⁵

Then in 1772 no less a thing happened than the presentation upon the same stage of a native tragedy in the classical style. This drama was *Zarine*, and the author was Johan Nordal Bruun, a young Norwegian theologian then living in Copenhagen. The play, which was well received, is of no consequence, it is merely a slavish imitation; but it has real importance after all for it called forth Johan Herman Wessel's immortal parody. Johan Wessel was another Norwegian member of the Norwegian colony in Copenhagen. He was a genius of the first order, of whom much was expected; but he lacked utterly the ability to apply himself for long to any one task, and his comedy is almost the only thing he ever wrote. Its full title is *Kjærlighed uden Strømper. Sørgepil i 5 Optog*.⁶ As a parody of the grand style it has probably not its equal anywhere. In it are observed with scrupulous exactness all the rules prescribed for high tragedy. The characters are Johan von Ehrenpreis, a ragamuffin Taylor's apprentice, as hero; Grete, his Betrothed; Mette, Grete's Confidante; Mads, Grete's Unhappy Lover; and Jesper, Mads's Confidante. The conflict revolves around whether Johan can secure the necessary pieces of wearing

⁵ In the conclusion to his autobiography Holberg had bewailed this foreign influence that began to be pronounced about 1750; and especially he saw many signs of a decaying taste, which was satisfied with the things that were now being played at the Royal Theatre, instead of as formerly Molière and good native drama.

⁶ It was written in six weeks after the performance of *Zarine*. Wessel disliked publicity; he had not wished his play to be either performed or printed, and when it was printed he kept his name off the title page of the first edition.

apparel. These he has not and cannot buy, he can get them only by stealing them from his rival Mads; and the driving force of the action is the terrible and threatening decree that was thundered into Grete's ears, that she must be married within twenty-four hours. And so what is Johan to do? There are long and intense soul-struggles, in which virtue admonishes against the theft, while his love urges him to it; and of course the decision can be only one way, for the wedding cannot be put off, not even a single day. And so the action starts. But in the end, unfortunately the theft is discovered, and the death of the bridegroom is demanded. And the unity of time has been observed, for the tragic issue of the hero's death is consummated in 24 hours,—in fact all the persons of the play meet their death (for good measure). And the rule of the unity of place is observed with the same scrupulousness: we have before us all the time the same room, used alternately by Mads, or Johan, or Grete. As we see it is only an indefinite room, an ideal unity of place, where everything may happen in 24 hours. If the actors do not forget the rules, they sometimes forget their rôles as speakers of lofty sentiments in alexandrines; at such times they lapse into their natural speech, something that furnishes much of the humor of the piece.

Wessel's parody gave the death-thrust to the grand style in Denmark.⁷ Drama turned again to the path that Holberg, in his closing days, had sought to mark out for it; but new names and new influences enter, the strong emphasis upon native material and a national form. Here the first name that meets us is that of Johannes Ewald; the first important representative of it is Adam Oehlenschlaeger.

The first step in this direction is taken already when theories about drama are still quite conservative; instead of classical or other foreign subjects with well-known historical characters as heroes, one turns now to the history of the North, or its heroic saga, or to its wealth of ballads. It was an important step; it was nothing less than the nationalizing of the drama itself; and it was the first step toward its modernization. The first

⁷ Although *Zarine* and other classical plays had some performances during the immediately following years.

writer in this direction was Johannes Ewald, 1743-1781, and the drama was *Rolf Krage*, published in 1770. We shall, however, have to content ourselves here with a mere mention of Ewald. His significance consists in the fact that he created the Danish historical drama, with subjects from Danish history and mythical saga. Ewald was essentially a lyric poet; in drama he is always groping and uncertain of himself. He was at first an admirer of Corneille, and his *Adam og Eva*, 1769, is written in the French form; then he became an admirer of German literature, and affiliated with the German colony in Copenhagen. Later he learned to know Shakespeare, the influence of which was perhaps greatest; *Rolf Krage* is written under this influence; finally his *Balders Død*, 1773-75, is written in classical pentameters.

After Ewald there is during the closing two decades of the century only one drama that calls for mention, namely *Dyveke. En Tragedie*, by Ole Johan Samsøe, 1759-96. It is a prose drama dealing with a romantic episode from native Danish history. When first performed, Jan. 30, 1796, it was received with great enthusiasm; and it enjoyed popularity also long afterwards, receiving 77 performances down to 1856. It was published in O. J. Samsøes *Efterladte digteriske Skrifter*, 2 volumes, 1796, edited with introduction by K. L. Rahbek, which reached a 3rd edition in 1805. As we read the *Dyveke* to-day it is a little difficult to see the reason for its unusual appeal at the time; of action and characterization there is little or none, but plenty of moralizing and sickly sentiment; but the reason lies perhaps chiefly in the choice of subject, and the very method of treatment.⁸ We shall now pass to Adam Oehlenschläger.

⁸ This is Hansen's view, and he is certainly right: *Illustreret Dansk Litteraturhistorie*, II, 1886, p. 225. But N. M. Petersen, in his *Danske Litteraturs Historie*, II, 2nd ed., Vol. V. (1870), p. 354 says: "Alle disse . . . saa livagtige Tidsskildringer ere saaledes smeltede sammen med Sprogets egen Blødhed, staa saa gennemsigtige i hine smeltende monologer og i Modsætning til enkelte kraftige Replikker hos nogle af de mandlige Personer, at *Dyveke* altid vil blive et af vor Litteraturs mærkeligste Særskuer, hvortil Eftertiden vanskelig vil kunne skabe Mage. Det er en stille, rolig rindende Følsomheds-Strøm, som af og til, hist og her, springende smaa Lynglimt slaa ned i. Denne søde Ro, denne milde Hengivelse eller, om man saa maa sige, Overgivelse, baade hos Mand og Kvinde, disse Lynglimt henreve alle."

Oehlenschlaeger wrote, among other things, twenty-six tragedies; they are all written in verse, he calls them dramatic poems.⁹ Of these, eighteen are based on subjects from Danish or Norwegian history, and two on Danish ballads. He wrote six that are based on foreign themes, mainly Italian. Oehlenschlaeger's first drama, *Hakon Jarl*, was written in 1805; with two other dramas it was published in 1807 under the general title of *Nordiske Digte* (Northern Poems). This volume is supplied with a long foreword, in which Oehlenschlaeger gives his ideas about literature and authorship; and here also he formulates his theory about drama. I shall try to review briefly these at this point. Oehlenschlaeger starts by saying: "The loftiest theme that a poet can present upon the scene is without doubt an historical exploit." And he adds: "And as each nation has its own exploits so every nation should have its own peculiar drama." It is the emphasis upon national history as the only proper material for the developing of a native drama, that is the significant thing here, and in this Oehlenschlaeger was a forerunner. He finds it to be a great mistake on the part of French dramatists that they had not selected their themes more generally from the excellent materials of French history. With considerable warmth and at some length he, however, argues against the declamatory form of French tragedy, and against its rules and conventions. To Greek tragedy Oehlenschlaeger gives his unqualified approval as the proper literary expression for the heroic age of Greece. In comparison with it he finds French classicism soulless and wearisome; "Sacred mythology becomes cold court manners, the impressive chorus is changed into a sleepy tiresome confidante, the powerful trimeter becomes a pompous alexandrine, and in place of heroic principles and enthusiasm one has sentences and sentiments." He quarrels especially with the French verse-form and a too rigid application of the unities; "A literary form which is a suitable vehicle for drama in one language or for one kind of subject may not be suitable at all elsewhere. The Danish

⁹ And elsewhere "Tragiske dramaer." The references here will be to the ten volume edition of *Oehlenschlaegers Tragiske Dramaer*. Copenhagen, 1858-1859, edited by F. L. Liebenberg.

language has not the same advantages as French, it has other advantages."

As regards dramatic rules he would have them used as a kind of later commentary on the practice of artists of a bygone period; writers cannot be bound by them but must have the right, and it is indeed a necessity for them, to modify the rules to suit the time and the theme." In theory Oehlenschlaeger then goes farther than Holberg. "Only that which lies in the nature of art itself can have validity as an absolute rule." And he then proceeds to formulate that rule: "A work of art must be built up harmoniously, and it must be complete and independent in itself" (*Et Kunstværk maa være ordnet harmonisk og selvstændigt*). How this is to be accomplished depends upon the kind of material to be used. He then turns to Aristotle's unities; these he would not reject; he would use them in a modified form. The unity of time he would change to the unity of the period; a limitation analogous to that in the action is also to be practised here. While he sees no objection to larger lapses of time when the curtain is down between the acts, he believes the drama is more effective as an acting drama if the leap is not too violent. It is especially against the too frequent change of scene that he would warn, and the too violent change of place as between the acts. But he emphasizes the necessity of strict unity in the action. In general he regards Shakespeare as a model for present-day dramatists; he "stands like a solemn colossus in the background." However, he finds fault with such violations of the unity of action as one finds in Shakespeare, for it destroys the unity of impression. Episodic elements have no place, everything not directly related to the main action must be eliminated.

In regard to the question of the relation of art to life Oehlenschlaeger takes a very definite and a very conservative position. Here, too, he believes that for himself and his day the example of Shakespeare and the Greeks is the best. "The Greeks knew how to ennoble the classical world into art; and Shakespeare knew how to so ennoble the Gothic world." The purpose of art, then, is to ennoble life, make it more beautiful, more perfect. Art should be the idealisation of life; "Verisimilitude,

realism, cannot be considered at all; nothing would be more ridiculous than to demand realism when one comes to see art." He then proceeds to show how the artist is to carry this out in his work, how the idea of the dramatist is to be shaped into drama. The writer is not to be cramped and confined by the vagueness and the purposelessness of every-day life; in life there is so much that is confused, meaningless, trivial, fragmentary. From his larger view of life the poet is able to select that which has meaning and connection; and so he gives form and order to the material which he takes from life; he creates something that is higher than life, but which nevertheless would be true to life. Human qualities and acts are compressed in a manner which never takes place in real life. Later also, in his introduction to *Stærkodder*, written in 1811, he gives his view upon this, where he brings it into relation to the question of historical truth. He says: "What Lessing calls to intensify the characters and put them in their true light is to idealize them; to retain the noble, large poetic traits, found in history, and created for eternity; to separate the accidental and the ugly, and to perfect that which is incomplete with well thought out inventions. Beauty is the necessary condition of the poet's work, and he does not wish to show, and ought not to wish to show any truth, except in so far as it is beautiful." (III, p. 252).

Regarding historical truth Oehlenschlaeger is in general agreement with Lessing that the historical characters must be portrayed true to history, whereas the historical events need not be. The importance of what is learned in such a drama lies not in the facts as such, but in the recognition of the fact that such characters under such circumstances will act in this way and must act in this way. The events are accidental, the characters are the essential thing; with the former the poet may deal as he wishes, taking care not to bring them into contradiction with these. But Oehlenschlaeger limits the doctrine to the main character of a drama, and so he justifies in this matter the departures from history that are often met with in his own dramas.

As for Oehlenschlaeger's method in general it must be said that he at no time carries his ideas consistently into practice;

he inveighs against the unities: "I do not see why only those subjects should be suitable for drama that can be compressed into four and twenty hours, or within four walls"; "I cannot comprehend why it should be more lofty or noble to be constantly staring at the same hall, than to see it altered to another room, a forest, or some other place, etc." And still elsewhere he explains why he had extended the unity of time to three days in *Hakon Jarl*; he cannot condemn too strongly the stilted style of the French classics, and yet in *Hagbarth og Signe* he experimented in it himself, to see how near he could get to the French manner.¹⁰

He is equally emphatic against Shakespeare's episodic scenes, and yet he defends extensive use of episode in his own *Stærkodder*,¹¹ and his plays are full of episodic elements, that have little or nothing to do with the rest.

Oehlenschlaeger's literary activity covers a period of some forty years; his last drama *Kjartan og Gudrun*, was written in 1847 (printed, 1848). From his notes upon this drama I shall quote two sentences: "Now I shall soon have to stop, not because the power is failing me, but the material is exhausted; I find no subjects suitable to the bent of my mind (*i min aandsretning*). Portrayals of the life of the present I am not capable of; I do not know it, and who does know it?" We read between these lines his realization of the fact that new ideas in drama are shaping, and with them a new style; a drama which will deal more and more with men and women of the present, and the literary form of which will strive to come nearer and nearer to the language of the present. The nearest approach of Oehlenschlaeger to this was the drama *Dina*, 1842. But here not much is achieved in this direction. At best it represents but a weak experiment, and he does not venture far. Aside from the middle-class subject, the nature of the experiment shows itself mainly only in a slight reduction of declamatory elements, the introduction of a number of modern words, and a somewhat larger proportion of actual short-sentence conversation. It goes without saying that all of Oehlenschlaeger's dramas are

¹⁰ l. c., IV, p. 296.

¹¹ l. c., III, p. 372.

written in five acts, and in verse form. The style is declamatory, long speeches are the rule, twenty-five to forty lines frequently. Similarly there are numerous long monologs, not only in *Balder hiin Gode*, which is admittedly pattered, also in this respect, after the Greek of Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Euripides.¹² Regarding the monolog his view may here be quoted: "I do not see why monologs and speeches may not be long. Strong characters and deep natures express themselves clearly, definitely, and with great detail to one another. The frequently alternating short speeches in the newer plays is the fruit of a vain age, when everyone wishes to talk, without, however, having anything to say, and without giving himself time to listen to the other. It is only where unusual action and passion is present that the dialog is urged forward and interrupted naturally. But where this reason does not exist, where rather spirit explains itself to spirit there minuteness is necessary, and can be tiresome and monotonous only to the sluggish of thought (sløve Utæksomhed)." ¹³ And he justifies long narrative parts in *Balder hiin Gode*, since it was not intended for the stage, but only to be read; and in the case of the account of Loke's punishment, though not a part of the action, "because it was an immediate result of the action, because it was poetic, and because the announcement of Loke's punishment seemed to me to serve toward the completion of the action."

Thus, in matters of technique and otherwise, he wavers constantly between the influence of Shakespeare and the example of the Greek classical drama. In one respect he is independent, namely in the choice of subjects, with its emphasis upon native material. His best work lies where, when young, he sought his inspiration in Northern legend, myth, and ballad. But even here he is often diffuse and rhetorical; and his work lacks dramatic simplicity and unity of action, and harmony of style and thought. The unity and compression that he speaks of is often quite lacking in his later dramas. Oehlenschlaeger was a great poet, but withal a naïve soul with a boundless conceit regarding his own gifts in the different domains of

¹² l. c., I, pp. 302-309.

¹³ l. c., I, 319-320.

literature. He was, entirely too early, paid universal homage in Denmark and he ceased to grow beyond the achievements of his first works. In drama he is capable sometimes of fine dramatic scenes, but cannot construct an effective complete drama. Irrelevant poetic episodes are embodied because they are poetic and beautiful, and may add to the impressiveness of the whole; but they often do not have anything to do with the action in hand.

During the period when Oehlenschlaeger accomplished his best work, that part of it which came to have a very definite influence upon the literature of the North, there lived and wrote in Denmark a man, who, a conservative in his theories at a time when Romanticism and Gothicism were often running rampant in defiance of all tradition, had a wholesome and steadying effect upon the period, and not least upon drama. This man was Jens Baggesen, lyric poet and dramaturgist, born in 1764; died in 1826. Baggesen was a man of versatile literary tastes, and in command of a polished literary style himself, a man of wide reading, in native and in foreign literatures. According to his own claims his favorite reading was first Ewald, Homer, and the Bible, and he had no taste for Pope, Wieland, and Voltaire, who were worshiped so in his environment; but the influence that is uppermost in his earliest poems is precisely that of Voltaire. Then Klopstock, and Shakespeare, and finally Goethe. He traveled extensively abroad, in Germany, Switzerland, France, journeys which form the subject of the two volumes entitled *Labyrinthen*, 1792-1793 (sub-title: *Digtervandrer*, "Wanderings of a Poet"). I shall turn to his criticisms of performances at the theatre, beginning in 1813, published in two series, one 1813-14, and the other, 1814-16.

Baggesen is not in sympathy with the trend of drama in 1813: "It would seem that, all laws having been abrogated, and all regulations (baand) destroyed, "the Free Republic of Letters has been handed over to total anarchy." He desires it to be understood, however, as regards himself, that his views of the Danish theatre have not been borrowed from any French

¹⁴ Jens Baggesens *Danske Varker*, XI, p. 237. (The second edition of this was edited by August Baggesen. 1847.)

belletristic catechism or from German æsthetic dream-books, but from the truths held by all nations in all ages." Baggesen is clearly one who would look for his laws for the beautiful in the wisdom and the practice of the great dramatists of the past. Elsewhere he urges upon writers of the present the necessity of acquainting oneself with those teachings that are "the results of the spread of culture, the education of peoples, and the harmonious cultivation of the sciences and the arts." He quotes the ancient saying: "Med Lov skal Land bygges," ('It is by means of law that a land is founded'); and this ancient saying, "is as valid on Parnassus as in every other kingdom." For Baggesen, simplicity, harmony of style, unity and clearness, (*Enhed, Helhed, Simpelhed*) become the supreme law in drama. Hence he leans rather to the French than to Shakespeare; and he criticises Oehlenschlaeger's *Axel og Valborg* for its "too great homage to Shakespeare and Goethe and its too little regard for the simplicity, the more correct form and the more polished and harmonious art of the ancients and the French masters." "The first law for any and every work of art is organic unity and connection; and the most flagrant sin against art is that of violating this law by a mixture of style."¹⁵ When he uses the expression "unity of style" he means "the harmony of the whole in thought and spirit," the spirit of the age which the drama portrays. This unity of style he finds never violated in Shakespeare, but often violated in Oehlenschlaeger, as when in *Axel og Valborg* Bishop Erland always speaks of fate and never of Providence, of virtue, but never of religion.

Baggesen's criticism is directed most emphatically against non-essential scenes, the episodic diffuseness of a series of Romantic plays; and among these are many of Oehlenschlaeger's, in which he finds him walking on 'Tieckian stilts.'¹⁷ Recalling Holberg's parody of the German drama of his day in *Ulysses von Ithacia*, he wonders if Oehlenschlaeger's *Røverborgen* was intended as a parody of the Romantic drama. In the second series of his criticisms, p. 120, of Vol. XII, he says; "It is

¹⁵ l. c., p. 277.

¹⁶ l. c., p. 289.

¹⁷ On pp. 275-276 he points out a whole series of episodes of this kind in *Axel og Valborg*, whose 4th Act he would cut out entirely.

imperative that art be reestablished in its ancient, severe principles, (Fordringer), and guarded within its sacred realm; the eternal models of thousands of years must anew be put back in the place that belongs to them. The ideal of order, simplicity, and completeness, must be hung up in clear view of sober thought in the purified Temple of Taste." He bewails *Smagens Fortydskelse, Forfranskelse, og Fordærvelse* ("the Germanising, the Frenchifying and the destroying of the taste"). The best service that he can do, he feels, is to aid in this purifying of the taste; "But first the eyes must be opened to what is ugly, drive out the evil, then show the good." As we see, Baggesen is not an out and out devotee of classicism and its conventions. As he calls attention to unnecessary parts of 4th and 5th acts in dramas he asks: "Why everywhere the five acts, if one may satisfy all the requirements of drama in three or four?" . . . The unities have been modified by national culture, here that of place, there that of time, and again elsewhere that of action."¹⁸ To Oehlenschlaeger's *Coreggio* he gives a high place as a social drama; he will not allow it the name of tragedy. And when he gives his reasons for this we see how conservative he was after all in regard to the matter of subject: "Correggio sins against the highest law of tragedy in the very fact that the principal character, while to be sure an unhappy being, is in no respect a heroic character. The unhappiness which he battles against is merely one of domestic misery, and the action is without the least historical significance—and can in no way turn or check those great wheels upon which the course of events is driven forward here in this world." But we must remember that we are still back in the year 1816; from there it is a far cry to the modern social tragedy.

The first series of Baggesen's dramatic criticisms¹⁹ begins with and is largely devoted to his review of *Axel og Valborg*, pp. 237-293. There are further reviews of *Hakon Jarl*, and of Samsøe's *Dyveke*, and some ten other Danish and translated plays. The second series (pp. 1-172 of B's *Danske Værker*, Vol. XL), gives the first 92 pages to a detailed criticism of

¹⁸ l. c., p. 273.

¹⁹ Pp. 237-344 of Baggesens *Danske Værker*, XI.

Oehlenschlaeger's *Røverborger* and *Hugo von Rheinberg*, and closes with an equally detailed review of *Ludlams Hule*, pp. 118-172.²⁰ These three plays are in detail analysed from the standpoint of structure, and style, and as dramas utterly condemned, literally torn to bits act by act, in a way that I am sure there has rarely if ever been a parallel in literature. *Hakon Jarl*, *Baldur hiin Gode*, and *Axel og Valborg*, he gives high place as "tragic masterpieces," and he considers that Oehlenschlaeger in them has exhausted his original art and the dramatic art of which he was capable. In discussing, genius and talent, he denies to Oehlenschlaeger poetic genius, but allows him very great poetic talent, and rates him in reference to Ewald, as Euripides to Sophocles, or Werner to Schiller. He considers that Oehlenschlaeger's dramatic talent culminated in *Axel og Valborg*, but he shows its weaknesses; in spite of these he would give it a rank "with the best works of second rank."

The Baggesen-Oehlenschlaeger literary feud forms an interesting and important chapter in Danish literary history. Baggesen is relentless in his analysis of Oehlenschlaeger's work and its faults; he often seemed unjust at the time, but the student of to-day will grant that he is nearly always right. It may be noted finally that Baggesen often praises Oehlenschlaeger's dialog form, and cannot say too much for the beauty of his poetry, especially in his earlier masterpieces. Samsøe's *Dyveke* he finds natural in its dialog form, correctly constructed, poor in diction, characters too commonplace, and the whole very weak as a drama. Of the foreign plays presented in translation only Ifland's *Gamle og nye Sæder*,²² and Sheridan's *Medbeilerne*²³ receive his approval as comparable with the best of native Danish dramatists.

To be continued

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²⁰ Oehlenschlaeger's *Correggio* is also considered and several translated plays.

²¹ Pp. 239-249.

²² *Alte und neue Zeit*.

²³ *The Rivals*.

REGARDING THE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR ENDING -r IN OLD NORSE

I

Monosyllabic consonantal stems

In my article entitled "The Irregular Declension of the Old Norse Noun *Mær* 'Maiden'" (*Scan. Studies and Notes*, VII, 6, pp. 169-174) I referred to the nominative singular ending -r of the consonantal feminines *ký-r*, *sý-r* and *æ-r* as a "retention of the old nom. sing. ending,"¹ i.e., as a phonetic development from P.G. -s, cf. Goth. *baurg-s*. I had followed Noreen (*Aisl. Gramm.*,² §408): "Wie *kýr*, also mit *erhaltung der ursprünghchen, R-umlaut bewirkenden endung* des nom. sg., flectiren nur *sýr* sau und *æ-r* (dat. acc. *ø*) mutterschaf,"² but I have since come to the conclusion that Noreen is wrong in assuming that the ending -r in these words is a phonetic derivative of the original ending P.G. -s (= Goth. -s, as in *baurg-s*).

My reason for this conclusion is based upon the simple fact that no evidence has as yet been produced in favor of the assumption that a P.G. -s became -R in North Germanic, except in words of an enclitic character. The consonantal stems in question were all monosyllabic in P.G. and consequently the nom. sing. ending I.E. -s could not in P.G. have been subject to Verner's law, inasmuch as these words in question were not of an enclitic character. How a P.G. -s could develop into -R in North Germanic except through the intermediate stage of -z (for which we must assume an enclitic character for the monosyllabic nouns in question) it is difficult to see.

Far more likely is the assumption that the ending -r of the consonantal stems *ký-r*, *sý-r* and *æ-r* is of secondary nature³ borrowed by analogy from those long *jô*-stems which denote the female sex of animals, such as *ylg-r* 'she-wolf,' *gyll-r* 'sow,'

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 171, foot note 7: "The fact should also be noted that the only consonantal feminines which retain the old nom. sing. ending in -r, denote the female sex of animals; these are *kýr*, 'cow,' *sýr* 'sow' and *æ-r* 'ewe.'"

² The italics are mine.

³ Cf. Streiberg, *U.G.*, §178, 1, p. 248.

mer-r 'mare,' etc., inasmuch as *ký-r* 'cow,' *sý-r* 'sow' and *æ-r*⁴ 'ewe' are likewise long syllable stems and likewise denote the female sex of animals. The ending *-r* of the long *jō*-stems in question was in turn borrowed from the *i*-stems (cf. my article on *mær*, p. 172 ff. and footnote 10) and therefore represented a phonetic development from P.G. *-z*, cf. P.G. **bráp-iz* > P.N. **brád-i-R* > *brád-R* > O.N. *brúdr* = Goth. *bráps*.

For the same reason as in the case of *feminine* monosyllabic consonantal stems we must assume that the nom. sing. ending *-r* of the *masculine* monosyllabic consonantal stems was of secondary and not primary nature. Take, for instance, the example of *fót-r*. As Streitberg (*U.G.*, §178, 1, p. 248) points out, I.E. **pót-s* would have given us in P.G. the form **fōs-s*. The *-r* in O.N. *fót-r* must, therefore, have been borrowed from the *u*-stems (cf. *fót-r*: *fót-ar* with Goth. *fót-us*: *fót-aus* and the dat. sing. form, *fót-i* with *vend-i* (nom. sing. *vond-r*) or (*fird-i* (nom. sing. *fjorð-r*)).

Likewise in the case of those monosyllabic masculine consonantal stems, the nom. sing. ending *-R* of which was lost by assimilation with the preceding consonant, such as **nagl-R* > *nagl*, **fingr-R* > *fingr*, **vetr-R* > *vetr*, etc., the *R*-ending must have been of secondary nature, i.e., borrowed from the vocalic stems, for otherwise we should have had **nagl-s*, **fingr-s*, **vetr-s*, etc. That this borrowing on the part of the consonantal stems went on after such an *-R* had regularly disappeared thru assimilation is proved by the example of **mann-R* > **mann* > *mann-r* > *mað-r* (cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*,³ §§252; 267, 4b). This late borrowing in the case of the consonantal stems finds its parallel in the vocalic stems, as is shown by the example of P.G. **brunn-az* > P.N. **brunn-R* > **brunn* > *brunn-r* > *brúdr* 'spring,' 'well.' We see then that the forms *mannr*:*maðr*, consonantal stem and *brunnr*:*brúdr*, *a*-stem, (instead of **mann* and **brunn*) owe their existence to the fact that the *-r* was the regular ending for the nom. sing. masc. and for this reason was by force of analogy added to the stem long after the original ending of the nom. sing. had disappeared. On this basis the

⁴ Originally an *i*-stem, cf. Latin *ovis*. It is therefore possible that the *-r* in *æ-r* is original.

older *R*-ending in **mann-R* must also be explained, i.e., that the *-s* in P.G. **mann-s* (= Goth. *man-s*) was replaced in Primitive Norse by the *R*-ending of the vocalic declensions, otherwise we should have had the form **man(n)-s* nom. sing. in Old Norse.

Thus the Old Norse arrived at conformity in respect to the nom. sing. ending P.G. *-s*:*-z*, in that P.G. *-s* was everywhere replaced by *-z* (<*-R*) because of the far greater number of cases where *-z* (<*-R*) occurred (namely, in all nouns originally of more than one syllable, which include all the vocalic declensions and the dissyllabic consonantal stems). In Gothic, on the other hand, not only P.G. *-s* but also P.G. *-z* of the nom. sing. ending was everywhere represented by *-s* because of the specific Gothic law that sonant spirants in final position become the corresponding surd spirants. The appearance of a Gothic final *-s* of the nom. sing. over against an O.N. *-R*>*-r* therefore lends no evidence as to the origin of the P.N. *-R*>*-r*. Noreen's contention that the *-r* in O.N. *ký-r*, *sý-r* and *œ-r* is a retention of the "original" ending *-s* is evidently based upon a misapprehension of the relation between final O.N. *-R* and Gothic *-s*, otherwise how can he explain an O.N. *-r* as phonetically derived from a P.G. *-s*, as, for instance, in **kû-s*>**kû-R*>*ký-r*? Furthermore, the *û* in **kû-R* was not the original vowel of the nom. sing. (cf. Streitberg, *U.G.*, §178, 1) but owes its origin to the vowel of the accusative stem, a fact which shows that the nom. sing. form was of secondary origin.

II

"*Mær*" and "*þr*"

In my article on *mær*, referred to above, I explained the *-r*-ending in *mæ-r* and *þr-r* as borrowed from the long *jô*-stems. I explained (p. 172 ff.) this *-r* of the long *jô*-stems as in turn borrowed from those long fem. *i*-stems denoting the female sex which had passed over into the *jô*-stems, such as *brúð-r*, *vætt-r*, *Gunn-r* (*Gud-r*), *Aud-r*, *Urd-r*, etc. My contention was that the short *jô*-stems, *mær* 'maiden' and *þr* 'maid-servant,' had borrowed the *-r* of the nom. sing. from the long *jô*-stems because of the fact that the long *jô*-stems more often denoted the female sex than did the short *jô*-stems (cf. p. 170 f.), and I suggested

in this connection the influence of the long *jô*-stem *brúðr* (originally an *i*-stem, cf. Goth. *brūþs*) which likewise denoted 'maiden,' 'young married woman,' 'daughter,' just as did *mæ-r*.

It will be noted that I here failed to explain why so many proper names for women occur as short *jô*-stems without the *r*-ending of the nom. sing., such as *Frigg*, *Sif*, *Sigg* and the many compounds ending in *-ey*, *-ný*, *-yn* or *-(v)in*, cf. *Lauf-ey*, *Borg-ný*, *Sig-yn*, etc., (see my article foot note 6, p. 171). Surely, if the contention were correct that the *-r* in *mæ-r* and *þt-r* was due to the fact that these words denote the female sex and for this reason borrowed the *-r* from the long *jô*-stems, then one must naturally infer that the short *jô*-stems denoting the names of females, such as *Frigg*, *Sif*, *Lauf-ey*, etc., would likewise have borrowed the nom. sing. ending *-r* of the long *jô*-stems. I am prone to believe, therefore, that the *-r* in *mæ-r* was due solely and directly to the influence of *brúðr* which was so often used synonymously with *mæ-r* (cf. my article, foot note 8, p. 171). The *-r* in *þt-r* 'maid-servant' may then be accounted for as due to analogy with *mæ-r* 'maiden.'

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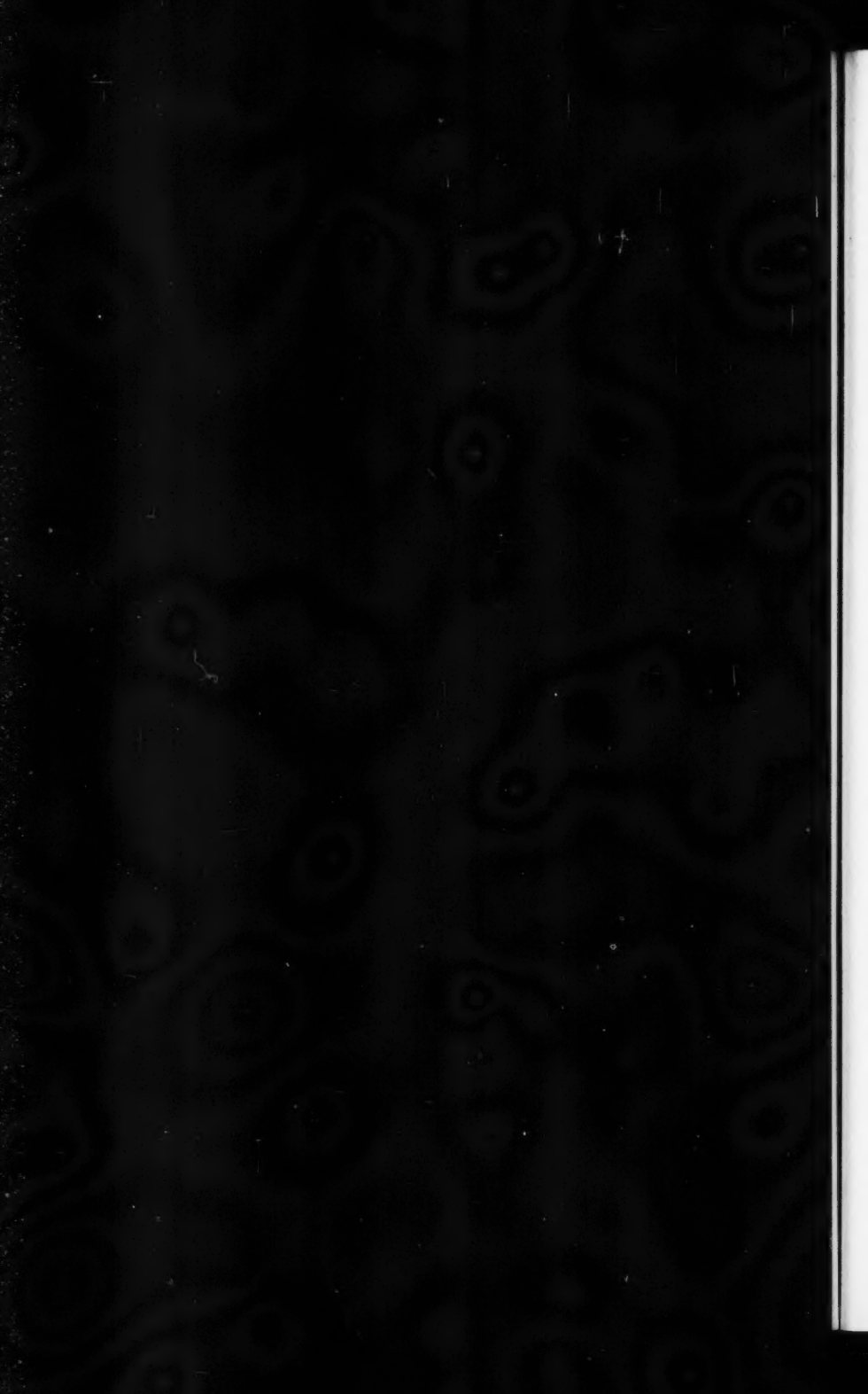
THE REDISCOVERED LANDSTAD MANUSCRIPTS¹

The rediscovery of the manuscripts and notes of M. B. Landstad and their delivery to the Norwegian Collection of Folklore is a gain to the study of the ballad, and of mediaeval culture of the North in general, the importance of which one can scarce over-estimate. Sentimentally it means much to those who have loved the ballad and gained knowledge of it chiefly through Landstad's work. Scientifically it has even a greater significance in that it supplies extensive material for use in the preparation of definitive editions and in the making of a true historical evaluation of ballad scholarship.

To those who have dipped into the rich ballad literature of Norway, the large volume published by Landstad in 1853 is well known. This work, for the first time, really opened the eyes of the Norwegians to the richness of their folk poetry, in much the same way as Asbjørnson and Moe's collections of folk tales had presented that phase of folk culture to the national consciousness. Landstad's collection came at an opportune time when the reawakening of nationalism during the romantic period had made people ready to view favorably all the treasures of the past. The historian P. A. Munch hailed Landstad's work as "a national treasure of the most precious." The poets, too, felt its influence and we see the stamp of it, just as much as of Snorre, upon the early works of Ibsen and Bjørnson. The latter tells how he was absorbed by the ballads, "I knew them by heart, and recited them at all parties."

Those who have delved deeper know also the controversial writings the book gave rise to among scholars and the bitter criticism that Landstad's methods were subject to from Svend Grundtvig and to a lesser extent from Sophus Bugge and others. Landstad had prepared a popular edition; he had normalized the language and fused different versions. For scientific purposes such a work naturally had serious short-comings. And to

¹ The present article is based on an article by Professor Liestøl published in *Tidens Tegn*, Jan. 19, 1924, and upon oral information given by Professor Liestøl to the writer. The cuts are reproduced from *Tidens Tegn* through the courtesy of the editor, Mr. Rolf Thommessen.



scholars like Grundtvig, who needed for his own great work on Danish ballads specific and dependable information, the edition was irritating, to say the least. In his attacks Grundtvig even went so far as to intimate that Landstad had destroyed his original manuscripts in order to save himself from the criticism such documents might expose him to.

Little by little, however, scholars have come to pronounce a more lenient judgment upon Landstad's work. Bugge in his edition of ballads (published 1858) is more cautious in his criticism than on previous occasions; and Moltke Moe tells that Bugge "has many times stated that the more deeply he (Bugge) penetrated into the ballad traditions of Telemarken the more favorable was his judgment of Landstad; his (Landstad's) arbitrariness proved to be the exception, not the rule."

Seventy years passed and yet nothing was heard of Landstad's originals. It was commonly supposed that they were lost forever. Landstad did not answer Grundtvig's criticism and it is uncertain to what extent he knew of it. Had he been familiar with it, he naturally would have done his best to preserve that material which was needed to exonerate him.

But one day last fall Professor Knut Liestøl, the director of the Norwegian Folklore Collections, was informed by Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Breien, that certain of Landstad's papers had been found. Through Mr. Breien, Professor Liestøl secured the documents for the Folklore Collection and set about the examination of them.

The results were beyond expectation; Professor Liestøl soon realized that he had found "the lost treasure"—the original manuscripts and collections of Landstad; he had the *Norske Folkeviser* in the making.

Among the papers Professor Liestøl found not only the "copy" for the printed edition of 1853, but also the complete manuscript prepared by Landstad in 1848, containing material not included in the printed book and hitherto known only through selections published in *Langes Tidsskrift* and from a table of contents prepared by Ivar Aasen.

But of even greater value is an earlier draft hitherto unknown. From a cursory reading Professor Liestøl finds the

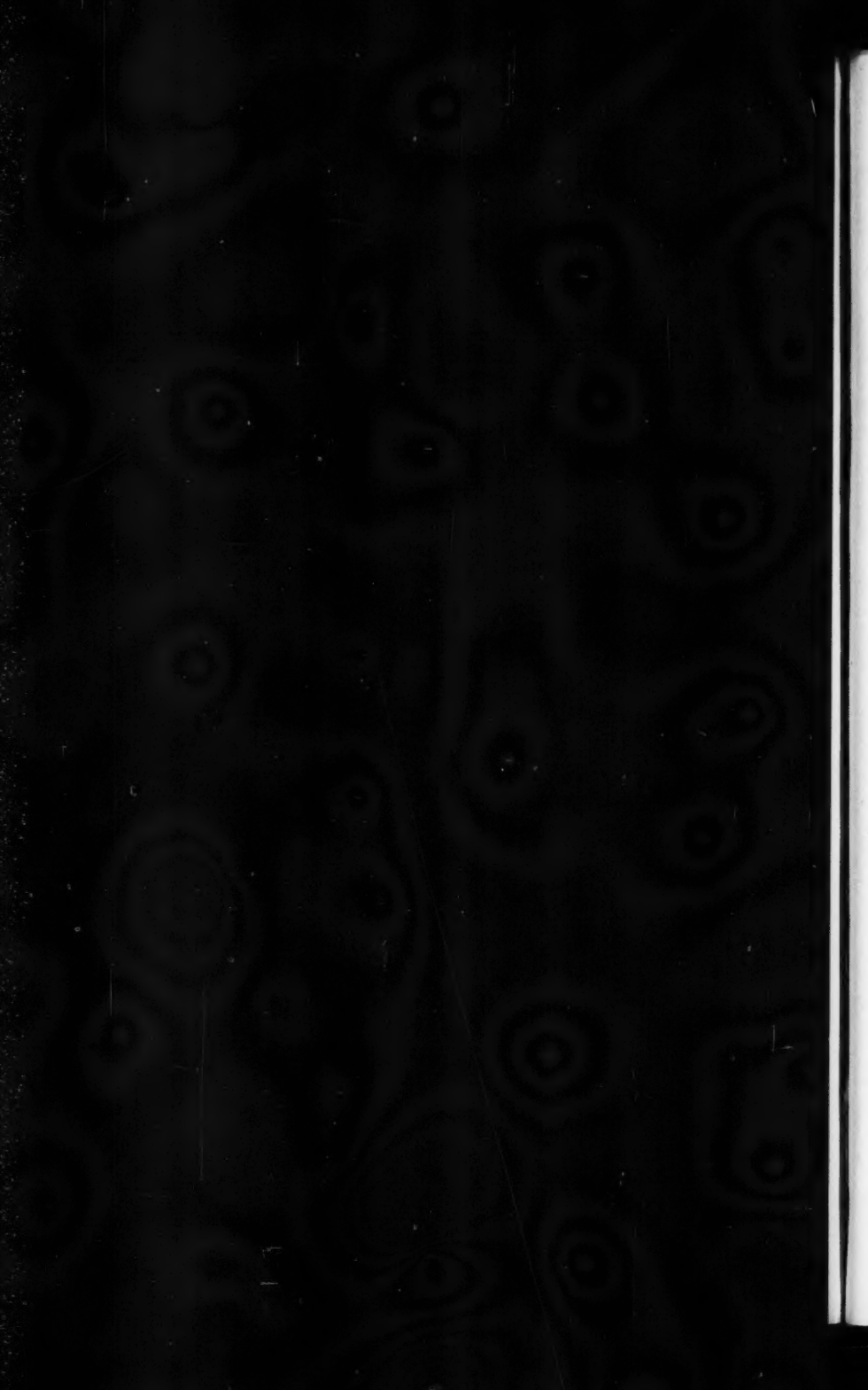
ballad text of this draft very little emended or reconstructed; and the language is pure Telemark dialect. Besides this there are a number of ballads in the form originally put down, at the dictation of the peasant singer, by Landstad or by some of his helpers. Here, too, the name of the singer is often added, and the name of the one from whom he has learned the lay so that the line of tradition can be followed far back in the eighteenth century. In these early drafts Landstad has closely followed the Telemark dialect, often using a phonetic spelling, but from 1847 on his records show more and more a normalized language similar to that of the edition of 1853.

Liestøl believes all Landstad's collections to be from the "forties," not, as commonly supposed, from the "thirties," while he was pastor at Kviteseid.

The Landstad papers also contain manuscripts of Olea Crøger. Her work is already known through one quarto manuscript of ballads now in the University Library, Kristiania. The manuscripts now found give us just as many ballads as those earlier known. The papers also show that Landstad has had other helpers who have recorded ballads for him, and who have furnished good versions of *Draumkvædet*, Aasmund Frægdegjaeva, Steinnfinn Fefinnsson and many other ballads. And finally there is a part of Landstad's correspondence containing letters from Ivar Aasen, from V. U. Hammershaimb, the great collector of Faeroese ballads, and from Olea Crøger.

The importance of the rediscovered papers is evident. They will clear many a problem in the history of ballad study—questions of Landstad's methods and of his collaboration with Olea Crøger. Step by step one can follow Landstad's work,—the collection, the normalization, the reconstruction, to the final printed version. A series of "Trials" ("Forsög"), as he calls them, indicate the vast amount of work he has put upon his texts. The controversy concerning the reliability of Landstad's work is thereby at an end; the documents found remove the very basis of the controversy. And more than ever before we can, from a full heart, thank Landstad for his contribution to the cultural work of the Norwegian people.

But the documents are important, not only in the study of



ballad research and its history, but in that they give a rich material for all future study. New editions, new studies, will always find valuable the additional versions of the ballads, versions written down when the tradition was more awake, more dependable than in our day when "education" to a large extent has sent so much of the old into utter oblivion.

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REVIEWS

NORSK RIKSMAALS-ORDBOK, for Rettskrivning og Ordbøining. Av Torgeir Krogsrud og Didrik Arup Seip. Kristiania, 1924. Pp. 222.

The Steenske Forlag has done a real service in getting out this dictionary of Norwegian at this time. Norwegian orthography has during the last decade and a half been in such a state of flux, that it has been somewhat difficult to keep abreast of its successive modifications; for the use of the schools it has been necessary, especially since 1917, to get out several orthographic lists or glossaries. And the changes have of course often involved matters of grammar. The present dictionary differs from these glossaries especially in respect to its greater completeness; first, in the very much larger number of basic words included. I shall at once indicate briefly how it compares with some of its predecessors in this regard. S. Juell Tønnessen's *Rettskrivningsordbok over det norske Riksmaal*, 1915, a book of 314 pages, has 30 words under *R* as far as *raft*,¹ Krogsrud and Seip have 34. The latter have the following words which the former has not: *rabbe*, v. *rabbet*, adj. *racer*, c, *rade*, v., *radiasjon*, *radiell*, adj., and *radiolitt*, c; but Tønnessen has *rabbioso*, *rachitis*, and *rafraichissement*, which are lacking in *K-S*. Under *F*, as far as *fakultet* *K-S* has 36, Tønnessen has 37; to the words of both, *K-S* has also *fabulere*, *fakslodde*, *fakter*, s. fl. and *faktivt*, while Tønnessen has *fage*, adv. *forældet*, *fagna*, lm., *Fahrenheit*, *fahrkunst*, and *fakning*. This may perhaps be sufficient to indicate that the smaller dictionary corresponds very closely to the larger one as regards the actual number of basic words included. And it will probably also suffice to show that, aside from the orthography, *K-S* stands a little nearer to the condition at the present time as regards the vocabulary. If we compare with other somewhat smaller dictionaries we find that *K-S* includes considerable more material; thus, e.g., than Eskeland's *Rettskrivnings-Ordbok*, 2 ed., 1912, or Leiv Heggstad's *Fornorsknings-Ordbok* of 1917.

Of derivatives and compounds the present dictionary has aimed to include only so much as seemed to be required by considerations of orthography. For this class of words one should, then, rather consult Tønnessen, or better still the larger *Dansk-Norsk Ordbok* by S. Schjøtt. I have compared the amount of inclusions under cpds. in *hoved*—; there are 24 such cpds. in *K-S*, Heggstad has 11, Eskeland, 30, Tønnessen, 80, and Schjøtt, 152. But this is misleading; the difference is by no means so great throughout. Elsewhere the proportion for *K-S* will be much greater; and it is a matter of special interest that Eskeland's *landsmaal* dictionary is very full in this respect. Thus of cpds. of *mann*, there are 50 in *K-S*, 15 in Heggstad, 26 in Tønnessen, while Eskeland has 60 I shall take one more word; *iverr*. Cpds. in *iverr*—number 70 in *K-S*, Heggstad has 10, Eskeland, 72, and Tønnessen, 81. It is finally to be noted that recent loanwords are included extensively; and similarly as to technical terms, especi-

¹ Not counting *race* in Tønnessen, which in *K-S* is given under *rase*. Also words beginning *raa* come after *raf* in *K-S*.

ally nautical terms, names of plants, birds, those connected with music, science, etc. We are not told the number of words the editors have included, but I have made an estimate that there are nearly 29,000. With this cf. Heggstad's dictionary of 24,000.

The book is planned strictly as an orthographic dictionary; it confines itself to spelling much more closely than either *Eskeland* or *Tønnessen*, while in the case of Heggstad's the purpose necessarily required definitions pretty much throughout. In *Tønnessen* also there are definitions of practically all words given. But also the present book gives definitions in considerable measure, as well as grammatical information, where there might be uncertainty, or where two forms are allowed, or often in the case of unusual meanings, etc. Since there is such a definite limitation in these respects, it may seem to the user that sometimes a word is unnecessarily explained, whereas elsewhere one misses the definition where it seems desirable. But within a system of partial definition there is a great deal that will add to the usefulness of the book. It is hoped that it may find wide use also in American schools and colleges.

GEORGE T. FLOM

Urbana, May 23, 1924.

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met at University of Illinois, Urbana, on Friday and Saturday, May 2 and 3, 1924.

First Session, Friday, May 2, 2 P.M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Jules Mauritzson, who introduced Professor A. H. Daniels, Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Illinois. In behalf of the University, Dean Daniels extended a cordial welcome to the members of the Society. During his discourse he stressed particularly the value of research work and expressed the hope that the Society would be enabled to carry on its successful work in this field.

The reading of the papers was then begun:

1. Auerbach's *Die feindlichen Brüder* and Björnson's *Story of the Two Brothers*, Bård and Anders, in *En glad gut*: A Comparison—20 minutes. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. Discussion by Professor Flom.

2. Scandinavian Philology: Its Relation to Other Sciences: Problems of Present Research—20 minutes. By Professor George T. Flom, University of Illinois. Discussion by Professors Sturtevant and Gould and Dr. Krappe.

3. A Study in Modern Swedish Vocabulary—15 minutes. By Professor Jules Mauritzson, Augustana College. Discussion by Professor Dodge.

4. Ptolemy's *Skandia*—20 minutes. By Professor Kemp Malone, University of Minnesota.

5. Rivalry of the Danish and Swedish Kings at the Court of Queen Elizabeth—20 minutes. By Professor Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois.

Thereupon the Chairman appointed as members of the following committees: for the committee on nominations, Professors Laurence M. Larson, A. M. Sturtevant, Chester N. Gould; for the committee to audit the treasurer's report, Professors M. E. Westergaard and C. A. Williams, and for the committee on resolutions Professors Kemp Malone and Andreas Elviken.

There were thirty present at this session.

At six-thirty the Society was entertained at dinner at the Urbana-Lincoln Hotel. Professor Jules Mauritzson acted as toast master. Informal speeches were made by officers of the Society stressing the various features of its activity, and visiting members contributed interesting talks upon the question of Scandinavian studies and life. The evening was concluded by the singing of Scandinavian songs. There were thirty-one present at the dinner.

Second Session, May 3, 9:30 A.M.

The business meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Jules Mauritzson.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was accepted together with the report of the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Editor was accepted.

The Society wishes to express its sincere gratitude to the University of Illinois, to the local committee of entertainment and to the University Club of

Urbana for their most gracious and generous hospitality on the occasion of the fourteenth annual meeting held at Urbana.

The Society also expresses its sincere gratitude to the American Scandinavian Foundation for its continued support and co-operation.

It was then resolved that the Editor take into consideration the question of publishing a detailed and complete Index for the Publications, covering the first fifteen years, and that he report upon this question at the next annual meeting.

A resolution was then adopted approving of suggestions with regard to means for increasing the funds of the Society whereby the Publications may be enlarged. It was further resolved that the Chair appoint a committee to study the matter and to prepare a plan to be presented at the next annual meeting. The following members were appointed on the committee: Professors George T. Flom (Chairman) and C. N. Gould representing the West, and Professors Halldór Hermannsson of Cornell University and Adolph B. Benson of Yale University representing the East.

The following Corresponding Members were then elected: for Sweden, Elof Hellquist and Otto von Friesen; for Norway, Francis Bull and Marius Hægstad; for Germany, Eugen Mogk and Gustav Neckel; for Switzerland, Andreas Heusler; for Holland, R. C. Boer and for France, Maurice Cahen.

The officers elected were:

President, Professor Jules Mauritzson of Augustana College.

Vice-President, Professor Kemp Malone of the University of Minnesota.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of South High School, Minneapolis.

Editor of Scandinavian Studies and Notes, Professor A. M. Sturtevant of the University of Kansas.

Members of the Advisory Committee for Three Years: Professor Lee M. Hollander of the University of Texas and Professor George T. Flom of the University of Illinois.

The reading and discussion of papers resumed:

6. *Oriental Analogues to the Tale of Brynhildr*—20 minutes. By Professor Chester N. Gould, University of Chicago. Discussion by Professors Hollander and Williams and Dr. Krappe.

7. *The Present Status of Eddic Investigation*—20 minutes. By Professor Lee M. Hollander, University of Texas. Discussion by Professors Flom, Sturtevant and Larson.

8. *Brandes and Shakespeare*—20 minutes. By Professor D. K. Dodge, University of Illinois. Discussion by Professor Mauritzson.

9. *Song of Grotti*—20 minutes. By Dr. Alexander H. Krappe, Junior College of Flat River. Discussion by Professors Hollander and Williams.

There were thirty-six present at this session.

Adjournment.

At twelve-thirty a luncheon was served for members at the Southern Tea Room.

A. M. STURTEVANT, *Secretary pro tempore*.

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Alre Sigdust for jinnu skind
Lar, Jant Jona for Skind ar
maga Binnu for Skind ar
Janta & inot Dagur.



IBSEN IN FRANCE

A Study of the Ibsen Drama, Its Introduction, Vogue and Influence on the French Stage

I

Foreign Influences Since 1850

An examination of the foreign influences which have made permanent contributions to the literature of France since 1850 will reveal four major currents, each of which, flowing into the main stream of French letters, lent new color and engendered new tendencies in a literature whose history from its inception has shown a very characteristic evolution. The literatures of England, Germany, Russia, and Scandinavia were laid under contribution to furnish the most stimulating impulses that had invigorated French writing since the rediscovery of Spain by the Romanticists in the first quarter of the century. Permanent traces of these invasions were stamped chiefly on the novel and drama genres.

In a sense the German and English contributions were not novel, since both countries had long been sources of inspiration for French litterateurs. Russia, too, had begun to be reckoned with in European literary affairs since the rise of such giants of the pen as Tolstoi, Tourgeniev, and Pushkin. But the North, and especially Norway, was destined to appear as a distinct surprise on the literary horizon, being far removed from the great art centers of Europe. Norway could boast of no great literary past and no classic period. The very language of her poets was not a native idiom but an artificially propagated official instrument that recalled her provincial dependence on Denmark. Norway was in 1850 the Provincia Transalpina of European literature. Contrast this with the fact that neither Spain, with its rich store of literary treasures and its siglo de oro drama, nor Italy, mother of the Renaissance, whose glorious past gave it at least a great historical and artistic prestige—neither country figured in the list of nations whose influences were strongly felt in France during the second half of the last century.

Scandinavia

The Scandinavian contributions to French literature were confined almost entirely to the stage. First felt about 1887 when "Ghosts" was brought to the attention of the French critics, the Northern influences were evinced in the works of Bjørnson, Strindberg, and especially Ibsen. Perhaps no literary impulse of foreign origin during this period aroused a greater storm of discussion than did the Ibsen drama. After a series of polemics, with redoubtable champions on both sides, a new word had found a legitimate and permanent place in French literary parlance. This word was "l'ibsenisme," written with a small letter. The Northern apostle of the new drama made two major contributions which became potent factors in moulding the destiny of the modern French theater. In the first instance he suggested a new type of subject, choosing moral and social questions rather than intrigue plays and the conventional "drame d'adultère" in the Dumas manner. Secondly, he displayed a new technique which, by contrast to the involved intrigue and artificial mise en scène of the Scribe school, sounded the knell of the "comédie d'intrigue" and pointed the way for the writers of the modern drama.

II

The French Theater Before 1880

In order to estimate Ibsen's contributions to the French stage it is necessary to examine the condition of the theater in France during the years just preceding 1880. The "comédie d'intrigue" of Scribe and his disciples had replaced the "comédie de caractère" of Augier who sought to study and illustrate dramatic movement by life itself. Augier's formula was: "le mouvement par la vie." With Scribe the formula was reversed to read: "la vie par le mouvement," so that "la Scribe" effected a complete break with dramatic traditions. It removed life and passion from the stage and substituted for them the conventional and banal stage complications of melodrama. In Scribe's program there was no place for psychological analysis, and his inveterate penchant for intrigue made impossible any

dramatic evolution. His vogue was so great that it constituted virtually a stage monopoly and all doors were closed to innovators. So well did he adapt himself to the whim of his public and so successfully did he fill the recipe of the crowds, that all writers must submit to his formula or be discarded. Because the wind of popular favor had been blowing on Scribe for a long time, his dramatic method became a fixed tradition which was to persist and dominate the stage for many years, cluttering and encumbering the scene with marvels of mechanical invention and conventional melodrama.

But, with the new movement in literature, and hand in hand with the regeneration of the novel, came a demand for a revision of the old dramatic method. The realistic novel had demonstrated the possibility of a closer relation between literary expression and real life. The time had come for dramatic authors to cast off old conventions, to discard the tinsel and trappings of the old stage, and to drop the Scribe formula. Naturalism on the stage was not long in following the naturalistic tendency in the novel. Naturally it was the novel, in adaptation, that brought about this revival. Zola's "Thérèse Raquin" and the Goncourts' "Soeur Philomène," both stage versions of novels, were among the early examples of naturalistic plays which were introduced to Paris by the new theater movement in the eighties. The chief agent and motivating force in this reformation was André Antoine and his Théâtre Libre.

Antoine and The Théâtre Libre

Antoine founded his theater in 1887 and the first performance took place on March 30, of that year. This is a significant date in the annals of the modern French stage since it was a declaration of independence from the "pièce bien faite" of Scribe and Sardou, and because it initiated an impulse for the regeneration of the drama. The life of the Théâtre Libre was of short duration, less than ten years in fact, and yet it did accomplish an important work, especially during the period from 1888-1893 when it was most active. In the course of these five years Antoine produced about ninety plays, chiefly by young French authors, although not to the exclusion of foreign

dramatists, for Hauptmann, Ibsen, Tourgeniev, Bjørnson, and Strindberg were represented by their best plays. The season of 1889 was the most important of the series, since it was during this year that several notable foreign plays were given their French premières, among them Ibsen's "Ghosts."

Antoine resigned his position as director to resume acting and later to accept, for a brief time, the direction of the Odéon. His theater was renamed Théâtre Antoine and M. Laroche succeeded Antoine as director. This theater is still in existence and was, during the season of 1922-23, the scene of several Ibsen productions.

As has been said, the Théâtre Libre was of transitory duration. At first welcomed by younger authors as well as by the dilettanti who enthusiastically proclaimed it the saving grace of the French stage, it soon fell into the vice of overdoing things and ran aground on the rocks of its own excesses. Begun as a laboratory by Antoine, it later became a display window in which experimenting writers, reeking with the red gore of realism and the fetid crudities of naturalism, sought to renew on the stage Zola's famous "tranches de vie."

The actual influences of this theater upon the French stage of today may be summarized as follows. It secured absolute liberty of presenting the author's whole truth. It developed a more realistic *mise en scène*, real stage properties being used instead of painted drops. It developed a new tradition of acting and freed the stage of conservatory methods of declamation. Finally, and perhaps of greater importance, it provided free ingress to new foreign impulses.

Lugné-Poë

Antoine's theories of the new theater were acclaimed and developed by numerous followers, individuals as well as societies. Chief among these auxiliary agents was the actor Lugné-Poë and his Théâtre de l'Oeuvre. This society carried on the reforms of the Théâtre Libre for thirty years and is still active. Its actor-manager has made it his special endeavor to introduce new authors, French and foreign alike, not only to France, but also to other countries, by means of extended tours. In the

nineties the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre gave a notable series of productions of Ibsen plays both at Paris and elsewhere in France.

It is to these two men that credit is due mainly for having introduced Ibsen to France. Antoine furnished the initial impulse and built the stage from which new voices might be heard. Lugné-Poé interpreted the message and presented the social precepts which Ibsen expressed.¹ While Ibsen was being introduced to the French public, the critics, as usual, were not idle.

III

Ibsen and The French Critics

How did the French critical fraternity express themselves about Ibsen, the man, the thinker, and the dramatist? There seems to have been a tendency among many of them to regard him as a severe Puritan; and Jules Lemaitre, who with Sarcey led the opposition to Ibsen, gives the following pen-picture of the austere man from the North: "harsh features, piercing eyes, a stern mouth, a thick shock of disordered hair, a wide ruff of white beard, the mien of an old Scandinavian sailor. He lived a long while in complete solitude. That is the Puritan. But on the other hand this polar bear has directed a theater, and that is trade devoid of austerity."²

Charles Sarolea, another Ibsen critic of some importance, and the author of a study on Ibsen, also sees this same stern Puritanism in the dramatist's personality. He takes the moral and philosophical measure of the man as follows: "Ibsen is a Scotch Puritan, a conformist and rebel in one. He is the Carlyle of the drama. I know of no character analogy so striking, no

¹ Gunnar Heiberg, who followed the Ibsen battle in Paris, wrote of Lugné-Poé as follows: "When you read about plays in the French press, you may be sure there is not a single article that does not refer to Ibsen, either pro or contra. That this is true is largely due to Lugné-Poé. Lemaitre and others have of course spoken and written about Ibsen. But to the French that was as though you tried to explain how a man, whom they had never seen, appeared. It did not arrest their attention. But Lugné-Poé has played almost all his pieces. He has shown them his (Ibsen's) face. The French have seen his expression. They will never forget it. (*Ibsen Paa Scenen*, p. 73.)

² Lemaitre: *Impressions de Théâtre*, V, 6.

identity of views as complete as between Ibsen and Carlyle. They are both hypochondriacs, hermits, dissatisfied with the society and the period in which they live; both of them profess hero-worship together with the most absolute individualism, both are idealists and moralists before being poets and historians."³

Lemaitre, in addition to the epithet already cited, "ours polaire," calls him "cet homme triste, ce songeur boréal." His characteristic expression when speaking of the Ibsen drama is: "les brumes du nord," and at times his critical reviews of Ibsen do seem vague gropings in the northern fogs. Usually he frankly confesses his own lack of sympathy with the social and philosophical theses advanced in the Norwegian author's plays, which he, as well as other critics, considered metaphysical pronouncements of a dreamer. A Russian critic of Ibsen explained him in these words: "Ibsen does nothing but philosophize. He is hard to understand. His ideas do not obtrude at first sight. One's first impression is strong but confused. A long analysis is necessary to determine his idea."⁴

Then too, the absolute absence of any attempt to amuse or to entertain tended, per se, to make Ibsen a puzzle to French audiences. A public brought up on Scribe, Sardou, and Dumas fils could only be confused by the Scandinavian master's serious and didactic purpose. It was this very lack of entertainment in the Ibsen play, as though the old bear refused out of sheer stubbornness to sugar-coat his bitter pills, that was uppermost in Sarcey's mind when he said: "I imagine that in a few years the public will discover a certain Frenchman named Scribe, who nevertheless did possess a true dramatic sense, and who wrote truly AMUSING works, whose first merit was that they were clear."⁵

The Lemaitre-Ibsen Controversy

Through all Lemaitre's critical appreciations of Ibsen there runs a vein of narrow, and at times almost chauvinistic, self-

³ Sareola: *Henrik Ibsen*, p. 4.

⁴ Lourié: *La Philosophie Sociale dans Ibsen*, p. 3.

⁵ Sarcey: *Quarante Ans de Théâtre*, VIII, 338.

sufficiency, in which he dismisses with a gesture the idea that foreign literatures may have contributed something to modern French letters. Speaking of the Ibsen vogue in Europe, he says: "If France pays little attention to what is being produced in the way of original material beyond her own borders, it is because she has remained a great innovator; she herself is quite engrossed in an active and abundant literary production, which for three centuries has scarcely known a truce. The Germans and the English are busy discovering dramatic authors up under the polar snows, since they have none at home."⁶

Somewhat later when it became evident that Ibsen would have to be reckoned with as a real factor in dramatic literature, the author of the paragraph just quoted, concluding that whatever was good and original must necessarily spring from French literature, announced that Ibsen's social and moral ideas were inspired by earlier writers of France, particularly Sand and Dumas. His contention that Ibsen was not an original thinker, but merely an imitator of the previous social prophets of France, found expression in these words apropos "The Doll's House": "We have heard these things (ideas of marriage) during the period 1830-1850, for all the revolutionary ideas abounded at that time in our literature."⁷ In further support of his contention Lemaitre avers that Nora and Hedda, types of "la femme incomprise" in the Ibsen drama, are but a repetition of George Sand's protest against "la tyrannie sociale et conjugale" as voiced in "Indiana" and "Leila."

Again he says: "To come back to M. Ibsen, of whom one could not repeat too often that the essential points of his philosophy are contained in George Sand, I am of the opinion that his works are not of uniform value."⁸

In answer to these charges, George Brandes published a protest in *Cosmopolis* (Jan. 1897) under the title "Henrik Ibsen en France." In this article he attempted to refute Lemaitre's statements by quoting Ibsen's own reply to what he called "these French illusions." A letter written at Christiania the

⁶ Lemaitre: *Impressions de Théâtre*, V, 31.

⁷ Lemaitre: *Ibid.*, V, 46.

⁸ Lemaitre: *Ibid.*, V, 114.

11th of October, 1896, to Brandes denied in unequivocal terms any and all claims that he was inspired by French writers. It reads as follows:

"*Dear Brandes*,—I herewith briefly answer your questions.

1. I declare on my honour and conscience, that I have never in my life, neither in my youth nor at any later period, read a single book of George Sand's. I once began to read "*Consuelo*" in a translation, but stopped immediately, as the story seemed to me to be the production of an amateur philosopher, not of a poet. But I read only a few pages, so that I may be mistaken in my judgment of it.

2. The above makes an answer to this question unnecessary.

3. To Alexandre Dumas I owe nothing, as regards dramatic form—except that I have learned from his plays to avoid several awkward faults and blunders, of which he is infrequently guilty.

My best thanks to you for taking the trouble to correct these French illusions.⁹ Yours ever,

HENRIK IBSEN."

It is a well known fact that Ibsen, aside from his early reading of English literature, German philosophy, and the Latin authors of his school days, did not devote himself very extensively to the reading of books, but did spend a great deal of time observing life itself in walks about the city, or at his favorite café. To his friend John Paulsen he related that a certain German writer who insisted on intruding upon him while he sat over his beer at the café, no doubt "imagines that I come to the café to drink beer. The truth is that I am working in the sweat of my brow. I see there how types should act in my plays."¹⁰

Paulsen further states that only once had he found Ibsen engrossed in a book, and that book was the Volrath Vogt "*Bibel-historie*." There is of course plenty of evidence to prove that he did not confine himself to so limited a scale of reading. The Ibsen letters contain frequent references to his reading, especially the correspondence with Brandes, who tried to keep him à jour with contemporary literature and philosophy, sending him his own new books and articles regularly. To cite only one instance:

"Accept my best thanks for your great work on the Romantic School in France. I need not tell you that I have read it with

⁹ *Letters of Henrik Ibsen*, p. 446.

¹⁰ *Gran.: Festskrift*, p. 40.

the keenest interest. I had, while reading, the feeling that I was myself living in the period you describe. . . . Your book on Disraeli, in particular, seems to me to be a profoundly original work.¹¹ The letters contain scores of passages which make mention of Ibsen's reading. But it is a significant fact that the titles mentioned are not those of novels or plays, but almost invariably of critical or historical works.

Paulsen, who was a kind of Boswell to Ibsen, seems to have been endowed with a fair share of biographer's imagination if we are to judge by some of the anecdotes and traits mentioned in his "Erindringer." Many of his remarks concerning Ibsen cannot be reconciled with facts mentioned in the poet's letters and hence should be read with reservations.

As has been shown, Ibsen denied Lemaitre's charge that the former had been influenced by Sand and Dumas fils. The question was treated in a very general and unconvincing manner by Vicompte Colleville in his book on Ibsen. He advanced the theory that Ibsen's teacher in the matter of feminism was Fru Ibsen herself who counted among her close friends Camilla Collett, from whom she absorbed an interest in women's rights and social position. Thus, Ibsen, according to Colleville's theory, received no direct influence from Collett, but second hand through his wife. Several writers in treating this point declare that Fru Ibsen exerted an influence on her husband less by word than by example. The poet himself, however, does not admit any round-about or indirect influence from Collett. On the contrary, he openly recognizes his debt to the novelist who in "Fra de Stummes Leir" had raised the question of woman's position in society and woman's rights. He says in a letter to Collett, written at Munich on May 3d, 1889: "Allow me to send you sincere thanks for your comprehension of "Fruen fra Havet." I felt pretty certain that you, you in particular, would understand it; but it gave me an inexpressible pleasure to be confirmed in my belief by your letter. But it is many years now since you, by virtue of your characteristic spiritual and intellectual development, began, in one form or another, to

¹¹ *Letters of Henrik Ibsen*: p. 369

make your influence felt in my writings."¹² Writing from Sorrento in August 1881, Ibsen assures her of his sympathy with her ideas in these words: "The ideas and visions with which you have presented the world are not of the kind destined merely to live a barren life in literature. Living reality will seize them and build upon them. That this may happen soon, soon, I too wish with all my heart. . . . I beg you to believe in my warm, complete sympathy with you and your life-task. Let no one persuade you to doubt you possess this sympathy."¹³

It is not without significance that "Et Dukkehjem," which perhaps as much as any of the plays, concerns the question of woman's social status, was written in 1879, two years after the publication of Camilla Collett's "Fra de Stummes Leir."

Sarcey and Ibsen

Next to Lemaitre, Francisque Sarcey, a Scribe adherent, was perhaps most stubborn in refusing to accept and especially to understand the Ibsen drama. The outstanding trait in Sarcey's Ibsen criticism is his insistence on complicating and confusing the poet's symbolism. He, as did his fellow critic Lemaitre, saw in the allegorical element of Ibsen's plays only "northern fogs." His prejudice sprang largely from his confirmed enmity to the free theater movement with which Ibsen's French vogue was so closely associated. A characteristic Sarcey remark is this, chosen from one of his Ibsen reviews: "The truth is that I did not understand very much of the Ibsen masterpiece "Ghosts," and if I had not taken the precaution to read the play before seeing it on the stage, I should not have understood anything at all."¹⁴ His bewilderment over a play which lacks the Scribian elements is given expression as follows: "Ghosts seems constructed rather to be read than to be played. It all consists of conversations, philosophical questions agitated and debated by people who do not take care to explain them clearly. . . . We grope our way through these misty secrets."¹⁵

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 423,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹⁴ Sarcey: *Quarante Ans de Théâtre*, VIII, 330.

¹⁵ Sarcey: *Ibid.*, VIII, 332.

His perplexity over the symbolism of Ibsen's plays increases with each new drama and ultimately Ibsen becomes his *bête noir*. He says again: "May I be permitted to state frankly that I do not understand the Ibsen drama, in general, and in particular those which are symbolic."¹⁶ Even when the performance has been preceded by an explanatory lecture, he still insists: "M. Maclair tried to interpret for us the symbols of which he said the play was full. I confess that I did not grasp very clearly the explanations of the lecturer."¹⁷

One more citation will illustrate and condense Sarcey's objections to the Ibsen technique. "Ibsen sets on the stage characters who discuss their affairs as though we were informed of them. I cannot endure such a procedure. I must be told: this is what has gone before; here is where we are at; listen to what is to follow."¹⁸ To Sarcey there was "*hors de Scribe, point de salut.*"

IV

Ibsen's Influence on the French Stage

In 1901 Ernest Tissot wrote an article in *La Quinzaine* which contains the following statement of the general influence of the Ibsen drama on the French stage. "This very desire of attacking on the stage such problems as our civilization presents, this tendency to allow the pragmatic element to prevail over the romantic element; this solicitude to set forth ideas rather than to describe feelings, to prefer sociological questions rather than adventures of passion, constitute the inspiration and the influence of Ibsen."

French critics, in estimating the Ibsen influence on their own literature are unanimous in emphasizing the forces of rejuvenation which Ibsen poured into a dramatic art fallen into the toils of the stereotyped melodrama.

Colleville says of Ibsen's contribution to the modern drama: "He renewed dramatic art by tempering it in the very sources of the soul and conscience; and this will suffice to make the man

¹⁶ Sarcey: *Ibid.*, VIII, 346.

¹⁷ Sarcey: *Ibid.*, VIII, 353.

¹⁸ Sarcey: *Ibid.*, VIII, 371.

and the author go down to posterity as the most lofty thinker and the greatest dramatist."

Alfred Capus writes: "The meeting of French and Scandinavian art will be an important date. The Ibsen drama appearing in France hand in hand with the free theater movement was very instrumental in calling the attention of the educated public to dramatic art. The works of the great Scandinavian masters, appearing all of a sudden, with their freedom of expression, their elevated and serious themes, immediately won many minds who were awaiting the opportunity to revolt against the conventions and artificial rules of our stage."¹⁹

Emile Zola sees in Ibsen a reflection of French literary tendencies of an earlier day, but admits a certain lesson for the French stage. "If Ibsen does owe a great deal to French romanticism and naturalism, the battle for truth and justice in France, during these latter days, owes something to the Scandinavian dramatist."

Octave Mirebeau contends that: "The Russian and Scandinavian literatures have wielded a great influence on ours by teaching us that, beyond the souls of writers, there exist human souls struggling with themselves and with society."

Auguste Erhard, whose book on Ibsen is perhaps the most sympathetic and comprehensive analysis in French, sees in the Norwegian poet's dramatic evolution the story of the progressive development of the modern theater.

It is difficult to point out definite, specific influences on particular authors. However, it is usually conceded that the younger group of dramatists in France presents several illustrious Ibsen disciples. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate this problem, and such names as are quoted in this category are only a few of the more obvious Ibsenists.

Paul Hervieu underwent a strong Scandinavian influence. The work of François de Curel is tinged with Ibsenism. Maurice Donnay's "Le Torrent" is a very frank adaptation of "Et Dukkehjem." The most famous of the Ibsenists of recent days is Brieux. His moral thesis in "Les Avaries" is strikingly close to that of "Ghosts."

¹⁹ July 1, 1901. *Petite Histoire du Courant Ibsénien en France.*

P. Hamelius, in his recent work entitled "La Littérature Française et Flamande de Belgique" sets forth his estimate of Ibsen's influence on Maeterlinck as follows: "He (Maeterlinck) took as his guide the most penetrating analyst of the nineteenth century at its close, H. Ibsen. . . . His clear and rapid dialogue, simple actions, his intense moral feeling, made an excellent model for Maeterlinck, who praised him highly."²⁰

V

The French Translations

The following table lists the French Translations of Ibsen's works to date, including the translator's name as well as the publisher, and year of publication.

1889

1. *La Maison de Poupée*. Preface by Edouard Rod. Translated by Count Prozor. Published by Edouard Savine, Paris.
2. *Les Revenants*: Preface by Rod, Trans. Prozor in *La Revue Indépendante*.

1890

3. *Les Revenants*. Trans. Rodolph Darzens. Paris.

1892

4. *Un Ennemi du Peuple*. Trans. Chenvière. Pub. Savine.
5. *Hedda Gabler*. Trans. Prozor. Pub. Savine.
6. *La Dame de La Mer*. Trans. Chenvière and Johanson. Pub. Savine.
7. *La Maison de Poupée*. Second Edition. Trans. Prozor. Savine.
8. *Les Revenants*. Trans. Prozor. Savine.
9. *Un Ennemi du Peuple*. Trans. Chenvière and Johanson, Savine.

1893

10. *Rosmerholm*. Trans. Prozor. Savine.
11. *Le Canard Sauvage*. Trans. Prozor. Savine.
12. *Les Guerriers à Helgeland*. Trans. Jacques Trigaut-Geneste. Savine.
13. *Les Prétendants à La Couronne*. Trans. Trigaut-Geneste. Savine.
14. *Solness Le Constructeur*. Trans. Prozor. Savine.
15. *L'Union des Jeunes*. Trans. Pierre Bertrand and Edmond de Nevers. Savine.
16. *Les Soutiens de La Société*. Trans. Bertrand and Nevers. Savine.

1895

17. *Brand*. Translated in prose by Prozor. Savine.
18. *Empereur et Galilée*. Trans. Charles de Casanove. Savine.
19. *Le Petit Eyolf*. Trans. Prozor. Published by Perrin, Paris.

²⁰ Thanks are due Professor Gisle Bothne of the University of Minnesota for invaluable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

- 1896
20. *La Comédie de l'Amour*. Trans. Colleville and Zepelin. Savine.
21. *Peer Gynt*. Translated by Prozor in *La Nouvelle Revue*.
- 1897
22. *John Gabriel Borkman*. Trans. Prozor. Perrin.
- 1899
23. *Quand Nous Nous Réveillerons d'entre Les Morts*. Trans. Prozor in *Revue de Paris*.
- 1902
24. *Poésies Complètes de H. Ibsen*. Contains forty seven poems of Ibsen translated by Colleville and Zepelin. Published by La Plume. Paris.
- 1903
25. During this Year Colleville and Zeplin translated six of the plays which were published by La Plume at Paris.
25. *Catilina*.
26. *Le Tumulus*.
27. *Olaf Liljekrans*.
28. *Un Ennemi du Peuple*.
29. *La Fête à Solhaug*.
30. *Madame Inger à Oestraat*.
31. *La Comédie de l'Amour*. New Edition with a preface. Published in the Librairie Académique by Perrin, Paris.
- 1906
32. *Lettres de H. Ibsen à Ses Amis*. Translated by Madame Martine Rémusat. Published by Perrin, Paris.
- 1914
33. *Oeuvres Complètes de H. Ibsen*. Translated and edited by P. G. La Chesnais. Tome Premier, Oeuvres de Grimstad. Contains: Twenty-six Poems; *Catilina*. Published by La Nouvelle Revue Française. The plan of this edition is the most ambitious undertaking in Ibsen literature in France to date. The first volume came off the presses just in time to escape the world war. On account of unsettled conditions the second volume was indefinitely postponed. The first volume containing the youthful works of Ibsen, is a careful and well documented piece of work, and includes, in addition to translations, a scholarly essay on Norwegian literature. The second volume has just been announced and reviewed in the Norwegian press, but is not available for this study.

VI

Ibsen Premières In France

The following summary gives some account of the first performances of Ibsen's plays in France, including dates, theaters, and, at times, the actors in the leading rôles.

- 1890, May 29. *Les Revenants*. Théâtre Libre. Leading rôles: M. Antoine as Oswald, Mlle. Barny as Mme. Alving.
- 1891, April 27. *Le Canard Sauvage*. Actors: Antoine and Lindenlaub. Théâtre Libre.
- 1891, Dec. 17. *Hedda Gabler*. Théâtre du Vaudeville. Mlle. Brandes as Hedda. Performance was preceded by a lecture by Jules Lemaitre.
- 1893, June. *La Dame de La Mer*. Théâtre de l'Oeuvre.
- Oct. 6. *Rosmerholm*, *ibid.*, Lugné-Poë. Lecture by Leopold La Cour.
- Nov. 10. *Un Ennemi du Peuple*, *ibid.* Lugné-Poë.
- 1894, April 3. *Solness Le Constructeur*, *ibid.* Lecture by M. Maclair.
- April, 29. *Maison de Poupée*. Théâtre du Vaudeville. Réjane as Nora.
- 1895, May 8. *Le Petit Eyolf*. Théâtre de l'Oeuvre.
- Jan. 21. *Brand*, *ibid.*
- 1896, June 23. *Les Soutiens de la Société*, *ibid.*
- Nov. 11. *Peer Gynt*, *ibid.* Lecture by Victor Barucaud and the new Grieg suite.
- 1897, June 23. *La Comédie de l'Amour*, *ibid.* Mme. Rolf Rolfson as Fru Straamand.
- Nov. 10. *John Gabriel Borckman*, *ibid.*

VII

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RECENT STUDIES IN THE HELGI POEMS

By a curious coincidence, the years 1919-20 saw the publication of three important treatises, in England, in Sweden, and in Germany, on the subject of the Helgi cycle of lays in the Poetic Edda. And, indeed, many are the questions which call for an answer.

Whereas it had, thus far, proved futile to localize and date satisfactorily any of the mythical lays, the determination of the provenience and chronology of the heroic poems was, or seemed to be, an easier matter. Thus, the legends of Wayland, of Sigurth, of the Niblungs, of those clustering around Ermanarich, were once thought to have originated, all of them, in South Germanic territory. We are no longer sure of this. Among the heroic poems, the Helgi Lays have seemed to offer the most promising lines of attack for solving these vexed problems.

In this connection it is interesting to note how 'the whirligig of time brings in his revenges.' When the totally uncritical conception of legendary history current in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century reversed itself, giving way to a hyper-sceptical attitude, scholars went to the other extreme of denying any historical basis whatsoever for Northern hero lore. It was conceded that historical events might ultimately have formed their basis; but popular imagination was thought to have so completely enveloped and transformed these far-off events that a restitution of the historical material was no longer feasible and that any attempt of an orderly chronology or of localization was foredoomed to failure.

This complete scepticism is no longer shared. We have become decidedly more optimistic of reaching fairly definite conclusions as to time and place; thanks chiefly to the measurable progress in related fields of study. Runology, metrics, the comparative study of style, and latterly, especially place-name studies, folklore, comparative mythology, and archæology—each has shed light on the Edda, in conjunction with a growing insight into what may reasonably be expected from a given lay.

As was remarked before, especially the Helgi Lays have tempted scholars to search for a definite locus; for here we find mentioned a considerable number of names evidently intended to be geographical; coupled, to be sure, with as many which on the face of them are plainly allegorical or mythical. Bugge, in his stimulating book on the Home of the Helgi Lays (1896) was convinced of the Danish origin of the material, but allowed for a goodly amount of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic influences, in consonance with his theory of Scandinavian-British origin of most Eddic lays. Most scholars, though vigorously disagreeing with details of his argumentation, have assented to his main contention. Indeed, South Baltic localization seems undeniable when we consider the following equations:

O.N. **Hringstapir**, cf. **Ringsted** in Zealand;

— **Sigarsvellir**, cf. the village of **Sigersted**, close to the former;

— **Hlesey**, cf. the Danish island of **Læsø** in the Kattegat;

— **Hepinsey**, cf. the island of **Hiddensee**, west of the island of Rügen;

— **Orvasund**, cf. the **Stralsund**, Pommerania (Old High German **Strel-asund** "arrow-sound": the city of Stralsund still carries a couple of arrows in its seal)

Varinsfjorð, cf. the firth near the present city of **Warnemünde**;

Svarinshaug, cf. the hills near **Schwerin**;

Móinsheimar, cf. the Danish island of **Møn** (O. N. **Móins-ey**);

Hlébjörg, cf. the town of **Læborg** in Jutland.

As to names like **Himinvøng**, **Himinfjöll**, **Sólfjöll**, **Snæfjöll**, **Bragalund**, **Logafjöll**, **Sefafjöll**, **Brandey**, **Stafnsnes**, **Trønueyr**, **Unavágr**, Bugge considers them, not geographical names at all but poetical fictions, agreeing stylistically with the kennings which occur with notable frequency in the poems.

In the case of still others like **Høtun**, **Sparinsheiðr**, **Sólheimr**, his equations with **Athens**, **Sparta**, **Salamis**, even though bolstered up with immense learning, have always seemed to me ridiculous.—Likewise his derivation of several other names from widely scattered Irish and English place-names utterly fails to be convincing.

The whole question entered a new phase with the posthumous publication in 1917 and 1919 of the MSS of Ture Hederström. It is a remarkable and inspiring story how this man, a native of Östergötland in Sweden, an autodidact, and practical

farmer by occupation, struck by the resemblance of place-names in his neighborhood with those in the Helgi poems, devoted the last years of his life, when already a sexagenarian, to intense philological research; fired with the sole idea to prove the Swedish provenience of a large portion of the Edda and of other Old Norse monuments.

Of course, he had predecessors in his general contention. Henrik Schück¹ and Birger Nerman² in particular have strenuously defended, and indeed, made good, the claims of Sweden to have a share, with Denmark, in the glories of Old Norse literature. So that we have practically returned to the older, Grundtvigian, view of a Pan-Scandinavian origin of the Edda and kindred poetry—at least as far as concerns their material.

But Hederström's thesis is, not only that the Helgi poems are Swedish, but that they refer very definitely to localities, events, and personalities of the 5th and 6th centuries in East Götland and the adjoining province of Södermanland. This is sufficiently startling; but our astonishment grows when he insists that practically all geographical names in the Helgi Lays, excepting those evidently mythical, are readily identifiable; that Helgi himself is a *fylkeskonung* in East Götland who is engaged in continuous feuds with contemporary chieftains in Södermanland; that he can follow point by point the movements of Helgi's fleet, the ride for succor of the sons of Grammar, etc. etc. All in all he claims to have identified with certainty no less than 39 geographical names.

I hasten to affirm that Hederström by no means lacks philological method. He is fully aware that the present form of these poems is West Norse; he has local geography and antiquities and Swedish diplomataria at his finger's end, and thus avoids the ordinary pitfalls awaiting the layman who ventures into the difficult field of legendary history.

Hederström seems to distinguish 4 categories of place-names—1) names changed by the "mistakes" of "copyists," 2) names disguised as kennings, 3) names identifiable with Swedish place-names, 4) purely mythical names.

¹ *Studier i Ynglingatal* (1905-10).

² *Studier över Sveriges hedna litteratur* (1913).

With regard to 1), all depends on whether we happen to agree that by a "scribal error" e.g., Sw. *Sæfjäll* has become *Snæfjöll*; *Rimstøth*, *Hringstøþ*; *Brávágr*, *Brunavágr*. And in principle, statements such as: "Helgekvíðorna äro nämligen i sitt nuvarande skick i historiska tid gjorda avskrifter (!) och bearbetningar av kvaden från folkvandringstid, författade i Östergötland" must be eyed with the utmost suspicion—they are impossible to substantiate, even if every claim of identity made in the book were accepted as true.

Again, in calling "kennings" the differences evident in Old Norse *Himinvøng*, *Sólfjöll*, *Arasteinn* and the actually occurring Sw. *Himmelstad*, *Solberga*, *Arnö* (< *Arnæþ* "örna-edet"), and the like, *Hederström* lays himself open to the serious charge of unduly stretching the interpretation of a generally accepted term. A kenning most often contains a comparison, or else defines a conception with reference to something else. The process *Hederström* has in mind I would rather call "poetical substitution." As to our acceptance of the numerous examples of this process adduced, all depends on the strength of the case which can be made out for 3).

In that category, I would accept as fairly evident, or at any rate, reasonable, such equations with modern Swedish place-names as the following:

- O.N. *Qrvasund* = *Örasund* (though in no wise superior to that with *Stralsund*)
- *Trœnueyr* = *Tranunæs*;
- *Hótun* = *Tuna* (a village on a hill near the *Brávik*);
- *Bragalundr* = *Bräkiür* < *Braghakiærri*, a copse near the *Brávik*;
- *Logafjöll* = *Loberga* < *Loðhaberg* (granting "poetical substitution");
- *Brandey* = *Brandö* (a holm at the mouth of the *Brávik*. There are, to be sure, scores of islands in the Scandinavian skerries that bear this name—which is, possibly, connected with *brandr* "ship's prow," cf. *Stafnsness*—so that it must be looked upon as a typical island name. There is, e.g., a *Brännskär* not 15 miles from the one designated (see map, *Aspöfjärd*);
- *Hepinsey* = *Hidhinsö* (though this equation is in no wise superior to that with *Hiddensee*, cf. above);
- at *Sandi*, f *Grindom* (providing they really are proper names!) = the farms of *Sanda*, *Grinda* (geographically unexceptionable);

- **Myrkvíðr** = O. Swed. **Kolmörk**, now the forest of **Kolmården**, called **Myrkvíð** in the **Þáttir Stýrbjarnar Sviakappa** (to be sure, no weight attaches to this equation by itself, this being the forest name *par excellence*);
 - **Stýrkleifar** = some cliffs by the present lake **Stýran**;
 - **Fjóturlund** = some grove near the **Fjättrasjö**;
- The variant readings in the **Völsungasaga** render possible the following:
- **Þrasnes** (Cod. Reg., **Þorsnes**) = a ness on the island of **Träsö**;
 - **Laganes** (Cod. Reg. á **nesi Sögu**) = do. on the neighboring **Lagnö**;
 - **Sok** (island) (Cod. Reg. **Sögn**) = **Sookholmar**.

On the other hand, many of the explanations proposed for the remaining score or so of place-names do not hold water. Thus, e.g., to identify O.N. **Hlesey**³ with the present **Djurön**, formerly **Brånes** (because, forsooth, a certain gentleman **de Lessom** early in the 14th century gave a receipt to one who was possibly the brother of a man who lived in that neighborhood!); to equate O.N. **Stafnsnes** with plain **Näs** (because that possibly might have been abbreviated from a former ***stamnsnäs**); to connect O.N. **Brälund** with plain **Lund** (a farm on the **Brávellir**; as though there were not scores bearing that name); to find O.N. **Sigarsvöllr** in **Sigvalstadæ** in **Usgocia** (1295)—these are only samples—seems to be begging the question rather than offering proof. Similarly the ill-advised attempt to show the names of practically all noted heroes of the cycle to be Swedish should not have been undertaken.

The striking thing about these Swedish parallels is that the localities referred to lie so close together, and all adjoining the ancient seat of culture around **Brávellir** (the present location of **Norrköping** on the **Bråvik**), the home of the **Brávalla** legend. Thus, their evidence is mutually corroborative, and cumulative. To fail to see this,⁴ does scant justice to the totality of the evidence and reveals an unscientific attitude.

But, the critical mind insists: supposing that all this is true, or only a great deal even: how is it possible, how is it thinkable,

³ Bugge's identification with the island of **Læsö** in the **Kattegat** is not to be criticised on account of the distance from the other localities in the Southern Baltic: Hethin deliberately misleads Sigrun (*H. H.* II, 6). The name occurs also in the **Harbarðsljóð** and the **Oddrúnargrátr**.

⁴ As does F. Jónsson, *Nord. Tidsskr. f. Filol.*, 1920.

that such a mass and multiplicity of detail can have been retained in lays committed to writing in a different dialect, thousands of miles away, and after a lapse of several centuries at the least? Is this reliance on the letter-perfectness of the information these lays give us not an uncritical return to the phantastic notions of a century ago? In defence of Hederström's work I may urge the following considerations.

In the first place we are ever apt to forget or undervalue the tenacity, and perduring attraction to the popular mind, of living tradition, in periods vastly less complex than ours. Many examples might be adduced. To mention only one: the theme of the **Hambismól**—the unsuccessful attempt of the two brothers **Sarus** and **Ammius** (**Sörli** and **Hamthir**) against the Gothic king **Ermanarich** who had their sister **Sunilda** (**Svanhildr**) killed by wild horses—this theme goes back to the 4th century A.D. It is mentioned first by Jordanes, after Cassiodorus who, we may surmise, based his account (written early in the 6th century) on one of the lays of which the Goths were reputed to have had so many. Over a gap of at least four centuries, and thousands of miles from the Euxine, the old song crops up virtually intact in the Eddic collection. And finally it appears, with all details in their proper places, in the sixteenth century Low German ballad of King **Ermenrichs Dot**. So that the material as a connected whole has had an oral tradition of over a thousand years.

The possible objection that the small scale of operations was not likely to give rise to heroic song, in the case of the **Helgi Lays**, is forestalled by Henderström himself when he points out that it lies precisely in the nature of heroic poetry to magnify proportions—to make a petty chieftain ruling over but a few districts of Sweden grow into a powerful war-lord marshalling a large fleet—to stretch distances of but a few miles into journeys occupying many days, and to raise low hills into high snowy mountains. Exactly the same took place in the case of the Homeric legends.

For that matter, it has become quite clear, from abundant archæological evidence, that East Götland, and central Sweden in general, flourished mightily just about the time postulated—

the "Vendel Period" (6-8th century), when *Danish* power was in abeyance. And Hederström gives additional and pertinent archæological information from his intimate knowledge of local geography. Certainly, relatively powerful tribes lived there as early as the beginning of our era, witness Tacitus who speaks respectfully of the powerful fleet and the centralized kingship of the Swedes.

That lays were composed under such undubitably favorable conditions seems thus inherently probable.

If, notwithstanding the defence here attempted, Hederström's work fails to secure our adherence, this is due to two considerations. In the first place he damages his own case by trying to prove too much. Admittedly, this is psychological, on my part; for enough remains, after the most sceptical scrutiny, to give scholars pause. In the second place—and this weighs far more heavily—Hederström's, in focussing his vision on a restricted area, as indeed he is bound to, by the very nature of the case he tries to make out, leaves out of consideration the wider aspects of the problem. These involve a knowledge of sources other than the *Edda* and the *Fornaldarsögur*, viz., the data of historical geography, and the Anglo-Saxon monuments; that is, the wider horizon of Germanic antiquity as a whole.

There, the Germanist and ethnologist Rudolf Much has an equipment superior to that of the autodidact, however sure of his restricted chosen ground the latter may be.

That Bugge is essentially right in placing the action of the Helgi poems in the southern Baltic is the thesis which Much upholds in a closely reasoned article⁶ in which much fresh material is brought out, and new ground, in the fields of both ancient geography and legendary history is broken and maintained. In the following I shall give a condensed account of its contents relevant to this discussion, omitting of course the details of the argumentation.

According to *Widsith*—that most remarkable treasure house of legendary information and the oldest Germanic poem transmitted to us—king *Heoden* (O.N. *Hefin*) rules the tribe of the

⁶ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 1920, 145-176.

Glomman. Mentioned together with them in that Homeric catalog of peoples and their rulers are the **Holmrygas**, whose king is **Hagena** (O.N. **Hogni**). We know that these **Holmrygas** or "Island Rugii," are the **Ulmerugi** of Jordanes, defined by him as living in the delta region of the Vistula and, according to Ptolemy, thence westward along the shores of the Baltic to the mouths of the Oder. There is no direct authority for placing the habitations of the aforementioned **Glomman** west of the **Holmrygas**; but through their ruler, **Heoden** (**Hepin**), whose name is incontestably connected with the **Hepinsey** of the First Lay of Helgi Hundingsbani they are definitely anchored to the shores of Vor-Pommern.

Granting this, we are bound to acknowledge their identity with the tribe of the **Lemovii** to whom Tacitus assigns the region next to the **Rugii**. There is no grave difficulty in equating the two names, **Glomman** and **Lemovii**. Among etymologies of their name offering, the one meaning "barkers, i.e. wolves," seems most acceptable. In other words, they bear a tribal name equivalent to that of the legendary Germanic race of the **Wulfingas**, O.N. **Ylfingar**.

The argument for placing these **Glomman** in Western Pomerania is lent further color by the consideration that, in the poem, Helgi, Hethin's brother, fares westward to make war on the brothers **Hothbroddr** and **Starkabr**. Now it is fairly certain that the names of these two are individualized eponymous forms representative of the **Heathobeardan**, that fierce but somewhat mysterious tribe who in Beowulf assail the Danes and, according to Widsith, are utterly routed. Their home is generally assigned to the south-west corner of the Baltic, the present Mecklenburg, which adjoins Pommerania on the west. So the name **Varinsfjorþr** applies to the broad mouth of the **Varnow** river in Mecklenburg around which, at one time, were the seats of the **Warni** (cf. Widsith, *weold Breoca Brondingum*,⁸ *Billing Wernum*).

Returning to the **Glomman** or "wolves," and bearing the implications of totemism in mind: if Helgi is the "Wolfling,"

⁸ If Much connects these Brandings with the **Brandy** of the Helgi poem, that seems in the nature of a "happy thought."

the Ylfing κατ' ἐξοχήν, then the opponent of whom he seeks revenge, Hunding, is the eponymous ruler of the **Hundingas**, "the Hounds." And these are mentioned in Widsith too. It is pertinent to note here that Helgi, when revealing the disguise under cover of which he had reconnoitered in the land of Hunding, calls himself, not a **Hamall**, or "wether," but "the grey wolf."—All this makes it exceedingly likely that the strange name borne by his brother, Hethin, which means "the Hairy One," may be a short-form for the more common **Ulfheþin** "Wolf-Coat"; also "Werewolf."

Helgi's father, **Hjorvarth**, seeks his bride in **Svávaland**, whose king is **Sváfnir**, also called **Svávakonungr**. In the lay, she is called **Sigrínn**; but it is to be borne in mind that Helgi himself is under the protection of **Sváva**. Quite evidently, her name belongs with **Sváfnir** and **Svávaland**. Now, most scholars are agreed that by **Svávaland** is meant the home of the great tribe of the **Suevi** who, we know, had their seats, in these times, in the present Brandenburg and Lausitz, i.e., precisely south of Pommerania which, we remember, was the seat of Helgi's people, the **Glomman**. Grant this and we must accept the suggestion that the mysterious **Fjoturlundr** or "Fetter-Forest" where Helgi falls is none other than the holy grove located in the land of the **Semnon**es in which met yearly the delegates of all the clans of the **Suevi**. Tacitus says this concerning it: *Est et alia luco reverentia: nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur*. This identification which had been proposed already by Uhland, but was rejected by Bugge, has by the above reasoning become almost certain. Similarly, the **Vandilsvé** which Dag offers his sister in expiation for the slaying of Helgi may be the holy grove of the **Vandalians** whose seats were contemporaneously at some distance from the Baltic, say, within the bend of the Vistula.

Neglecting certain other discussions less pertinent to our present purpose, it will be evident that Much's article shows with remarkable definiteness that the Helgi lays are of equal importance, in Germanic pre-history, with the Widsith. Both harbor precious reminiscences of heroes, events, and localities belonging to the period before the great migration of Teutonic

tribes out of their East Elbic homes; that is, of events that took place before the sixth century, which date, by the way, is in consonance with Hederström's results. In other words, deeds of the very same period are commemorated here as those in *Beowulf*. Only, that epic has its center of interest further north, its viewpoint being Danish. The old setting is vividly remembered in both instances. And this argues for comparative proximity, in time, for both monuments. Later, when the East Elbic lands became Slavic, the stories of their former inhabitants naturally had to be given different scenes. Thus in Saxo, *Hithinus* (*Hethin*) has become a Norwegian sea-king. The Middle High German epic of *Kudrun* has transferred the realm of *Hetel* with noteworthy vagueness to the North Sea coast and makes his opponent *Hagen* even king of Ireland. In Snorri's account the scene of the famous battle between *Hethin* and *Hogni*, the *Hjapningavíg*, is laid on one of the Orkney Islands; whereas the German poem locates it on the *Wülpensand* at the mouth of the *Scheldt*.

Granting—which, however, I am far from doing, in the case of Hederström—that both Much, in his confirmation of the opinion generally held by scholars, and Hederström are right: is there any mediation possible?

I venture to say that there is, to a certain extent. In reading the First Lay of *Helgi Hundingsbani* one is struck by the fact that it stands out from the others by reason of its splendid pathos, its magniloquence. There is a certain flavor about it which reminds one of Skaldic panegyrics—noticeable even if there were not a demonstrably large number of vivid kennings. Its poet is enamored of high-sounding names of persons and places. On examination it will be seen that it exhibits some 35 place-names; that is, most of those discussed by Hederström, as against about 11 in the *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar* and 18 of the Second Lay, the poems being of about the same length all. The sonorousness of these names appeals to the poet, and he employs them freely and "for effect," as did no less a poet than Milton. If Milton asserts of the Satanic host that

never, since created man,
 Met such embodied force as, named with these,
 Could merit more than that small infantry
 Warred on by cranes—though all the giant brood
 of Phlegra with the heroic race were joined
 that fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
 Mixed with auxiliar gods and what resounds
 In fable or romance of Uther's son,
 Begirt with British and Armoric knights;
 and all who since, baptized or infidel,
 Jousted in Aspramont, or Montalban,
 Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebisond,
 Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore
 When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
 By Fontarabbia,—

the Helgi poet also has fine lines full of pomp and brave magnificence. Thus, when, at the birth of his son Helgi, his father bestows on him name and fiefs and a sword:

*Gaf Helga nafn ok Hringstapi,
 Sölfjöll, Snæfjöll, ok Sigarsvöllu,
 Hringstepp, Hotún ok Himinvanga,
 bláþorm búinn bróðr Sinfjötla.*⁷

(Named him Helgi, and Hring-stead gave him,
 Sun-fell, Snow-fell, and Sigars-fields—
 Hring-stead, Hotun, and Himing-meadows,
 eke a seemly sword to Sinfjotli's brother.

And the mustering of the forces on land and sea that owe allegiance to Helgi⁸ is haughty and turgid with high-sounding names.

Is it not thinkable that this gifted *scôp* may have combined names linked of old with the Helgi legend with such that he might have heard at the court of Swedish kings? There is even some justification for so doing, in the frequent reduplication of names caused by the repeated migrations of tribes from place to place, leaving a residuum of tribesmen and of names in widely scattered localities. One need only think of the Goths, *instar omnium*.

⁷ *H. H. I.*, 8.

⁸ *Ibid. I.*, 23-26.

Any such mediation as above attempted is, however, out of the question with regard to still a third set of views. I refer to the notable book of an English scholar, Miss Bertha Phillpotts, entitled "The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama" (1920). Whereas both Hederström and Much operate in the main with historical and geographical data, in order to define the nature, home, and date of the Helgi poems, Miss Phillpotts places main reliance on the evidence of folklore and comparative mythology in order to prove, among other things, that Helgi and Hethin—had no real existence but are allegorical figures in ritual drama. It is not to the credit of Germanic scholars, here and abroad, that so little attention has so far been paid this remarkable study. The boldness and brilliance of the attack, coupled with sound and broad scholarship and constructive imagination makes the book a stimulating experience. In particular, we are grateful for the many acute esthetic observations which illuminate its pages.—The following résumé lays stress on the portions more particularly bearing on the question of the Helgi cycle.

As indicated, the study is intended "to place before scholars a theory of the dramatic origin of the older Eddic poems." It is clear to all who have given the matter thought that the Edda, in respect of both the matter and the manner of the thirty odd poems comprising it, forms a unity not at all. Rather, it is a jumble of styles and forms and periods. It is not even the product of a homogeneous society. It contains, not only dialogic and monologic poems of very varying types, but also a number of poems that are not pure dialogue, as well as lengthy sequences of stanzas which contain no direct speech at all.

It is only by sufferance that we may call this literature epic in essence, as is, e.g., Beowulf and the longer old German and Anglo-Saxon poems. Not any lay excepting, possibly, *Veluspô*, *Velundarkviða*, and *Hymiskviða*, just "tells a story" in story-fashion; or, for that matter, is meant to. On the contrary, in most the "plot" is supposed to be known already. A great many of the poems in dialog form depict, and most skilfully, incidents through the direct speeches of the characters. A classic example of this technique is the *Skirnismöl*. This

manner of representing action is felt by us to partake chiefly of the dramatic. And the poems exhibiting it are of a peculiar Scandinavian type which stands alone in early Teutonic literature. How account for its rise on Scandinavian soil?

This is the special problem to which the author addresses herself. Hints of dramatic origin had been thrown out earlier by M. Magnus Olsen,⁹ Henrik Schück,¹⁰ and (contemporaneously) by Alfred Westlund.¹¹ Both *Skirnismöl* and *Þrymskviða* have been shown to have their origin in ritual practices. But Miss Phillpotts' methods are entirely her own. She approaches the subject from a consideration of the appeal, the style, and the metre of the various poems.

Observation shows that the poems in the first part of the Eddic collection deal, in the main, with mythology and vary strikingly among each other in style and treatment; whereas the heroic poems of the second part as a whole exhibit some similarity of aim, which we may define as the attainment of tragic pathos. The outlook and attitude of the authors of the two parts are essentially different. The first part is characterized by absorption in mythological detail and incidents, a child-like acceptance of the established world-order, an absence of all expression of emotion, and frequent exhibitions of low comedy—with signal exception of the profound and gloomy *Völuspá*. The attitude of the authors of the heroic lays, on the other hand, reveals an intense interest in the emotional life, a preoccupation with the mysteries of existence, a contemplation of the stoic and heroic life. We cannot escape the conclusion that the appeal is to a different public: if the heroic poems are the product of an intellectually emancipated society imbued with the dignity of life—a society such as we may expect to have evolved in the Viking Age—the mythological poems appear to have their origin in a much less sophisticated society, a society which would be appealed to by plays of the mummery type or the earlier Mediæval mysteries.

⁹ *Maal og Minne* 1909, 17 f.

¹⁰ *Ill. Svensk. Litt. hist.* I, 90.

¹¹ *Edda* 1919, 95.

Very significantly, those poems of the first part which are in chant-metre (**ljóðaháttir**) are by the consensus of scholars assigned Norwegian, that is, Heathen origin. I may state the view generally held as to the origin of the dialogic incident poem and the **ljóðaháttir** measure, in the succinct words of Sijmons in his excellent *Einleitung*:¹² "Whereas the narrative poem of incident in old speech metre (**fornyrthislag**)—examples: **Hildebrandslied**, **Finnsburh**, **Thrymskviða**—is a common inheritance from Pan-Germanic times, the dramatic-dialogic poem of incident seems of Scandinavian origin: its metre is uniformly **ljóðaháttir** which is supposed to owe its origin to gnomic, magic, and thence didactic, verse. As against the epic incident poem its form, both as to metre and treatment, proves it to be the younger."

Now the chant-metre evidently never flourished in Iceland. It is noteworthy that Icelandic poets were so little accustomed to compose in this metre that they interpolated old-lore metre stanzas into such a poem as **Grimnismöl**.—By an examination of all Eddic poems we come to the unexpected conclusion that **Thrymskviða** is the one possible exception to the rule that Norwegian Eddic lays on native subjects are invariably in pure speech form and in chant-metre. However, in a valuable excursus Miss Phillpotts adduces good reasons for considering this poem, not as a venerable and solitary remnant of Germanic narrative poetry in old-lore metre, but to be 1) modeled on an older poem in **ljóðaháttir**, 2) indebted to one of the Nibelungen lays for its narrative style, and 3) composed in Iceland.

As to the **ljóðaháttir** measure, it may owe its origin as vehicle for incantations, rules of conduct, etc., to the alliterative chant of legal formulas. Reminiscences of this origin may be detected 1) in the much greater irregularity of the measure—going back to a time when rules of metre were less rigid than later; 2) in the frequent 'incremental repetitions'¹³ occurring in poems in this measure; a practice which most likely goes back to traditions of improvisation.

¹² P. cccxxi.

¹³ I.e., the last lines of the preceding stanza modified to form the opening lines of the following stanza.

In general it may be said that "the Eddic poems of Norwegian origin bear the unmistakable stamp of dramatic origin, superficially obscured by their survival for a couple of centuries of oral tradition in a country where they were not represented dramatically." Wherever there are prose-links in these poems, they clearly are of Icelandic origin and were written "to elucidate actions, changes of scene, etc., which must have been perfectly clear to the original audience; the audience, that is, of a dramatic performance." This hypothesis also accounts for the traditional supernumerary figures, the shepherd, the maid-servant, etc., and for certain stock scenes everywhere characteristic of primitive drama.

There is evidence in plenty—which cannot be adduced here—for the existence of an indigenous, but of course very primitive, popular drama in Scandinavia. Among the stock scenes still discernible are precisely the ones which form part and parcel of the so-called Fertility Drama, the world over. Its elements are 1) a slaying by the bridegroom, generally of a kinsman of the bride, 2) a flyting, or battle of words, 3) a love scene and hints of a resurrection—the nature symbolism is clearly evident.

This leads us to the Helgi cycle. It appears that the similarity in the plots of the Helgi lays, which has so frequently been commented on, and which is usually explained as due to contamination, is ascribable, rather, to the fact that we are dealing with an oft repeated ritual action appearing in several treatments. That is, these poems are not historical at all but symbolical. Hence also the strange and beautiful names in the poems: the Land of Love, the Hills of Slumber, the Fells of Flame, the Shimmering Grove, etc., for which (according to the author) it seems futile to seek geographical explanations.

This again may give a hint as to the real meaning of the personalities of the two opponents, Helgi and Hethin, as seen in the Helgi poems, the story of the **Hjathningavíg**, the Kudrun etc.: a Helgi is thrice wedded to a semi-divine being, and thrice loses her. Hence it looks as though the name Helgi were the traditional and stereotype one for the chief character in a symbolic wooing; meaning, as it does, literally "the Holy One."

This name is bestowed upon the hero in the Lay of Helgi Hjórvarthsson by his divine bride Svava who; by good analogical reasoning, appears to be the priestess, or the representative, of the fertility goddess, Freya. "Chadwick has pointed out the significance of the fact that the name Yngvi was borne, not only by the god himself, but by every member of the royal house of Upsala." We infer that these princes were regarded, not merely as descendants, but actually as representatives of the god. Thus, every Upsala king would be regarded as representing Frey in his quality of Freya's husband; and similar relations may be detected in the relations of Skjöld, the eponymous ancestor of the Danish dynasty, with Gefjon, another fertility goddess; and of Ottar heimski, of the *Hyndluljóð*, with Freya herself.

Now we know from the Ynglingatal that a reigning sovereign was occasionally sacrificed, if not successful in promoting the fertility of the soil; when a kinsman succeeds him on the throne and as the mate of Freya. This is symbolized in the Helgi Lays by the relations of Helgi and Hethin, his rival in the love of the divine woman.

Thus, strangely enough, when envisaged from this angle, the figures which from the other seemed more real and tangible than ever, resolve themselves into immaterial, allegoric symbols in a Fertility Drama:—a striking illustration of the Goethean dictum that the solution of every problem constitutes a new problem. Only time—and a few more facts—will show in how far views so diametrically opposed may be vindicated or reconciled. A mere surmise, one probably impossible to verify: have two Helgis coalesced—a historic, and then legendary, Helgi Hunding-slayer, and symbolic wooer of a goddess? Undeniably, much in the Helgi poems, under either interpretation, points to origin in Sweden, the home and center of the Frey cult.

The writer has withheld criticism of the work, in order to do justice to its argument; which, to him, is cogent and not lightly

to be brushed aside. I confess, though, that in some points I have difficulty in following.

One awkward thing about Miss Phillpotts' claim of ritual origin for the Helgi poems is that, barring the flyting scenes (which in no wise have direct reference to the business with Helgi) and "stray" stanzas, they are in old-lore metre; so that we would have to suppose for them all, as well as for the **Thrymskviða**, a modeling after older chant-metre poems—which is very supposititious indeed. Again, one is impressed with the considerable proportion of purely narrative material, especially in the First Lay. It is difficult to see how this squares with the theory of ritual action. For instance, one would have to explain away the many and characteristic stanzas dealing with Helgi's expedition against the sons of Hunding. They are epic, if anything in the Edda deserves that epithet.

Another matter: is it not possible that a number of poems for which dramatic origin is predicated, may be essentially didactic, as are so many of the mythological poems in which the dialogic device exists chiefly for inculcating mythological or genealogical information, e.g., **Alvismöl**, **Hyndluljóð**?) In the case of the **Skirnismöl**, after having read all attempts to prove its ritual origin, a suspicion lurks in my brain that it is neither the narrative, nor the fertility implications that are stressed, but the magic lore conveyed.

Several of Snorri's mythological narratives, notably the one about Baldr's obsequies, which are hailed as vestiges of "a game which Snorri had either seen himself or had had described to him,"¹⁴ are better explained as literary reproductions¹⁵ of pictorial representations; cf. Ulf Uggason's **Húsdrápa**, which deals with this very subject.

But even if a game it had been, I cannot convince myself that every popular game must necessarily go back to a former ritual action. It is, indeed, likely to, especially if there is corroborative evidence, but seems an explanation all too readily invoked. Like the Freudian psycho-analysis, the theory is

¹⁴ P. 129.

¹⁵ In this case, possibly second-hand, from some scaldic poem like the one referred to.

useful in a great number of cases, but absurd as applied to others.

Similarly, I notice in many places this tendency to surcharge a simple thing with too much meaning. Thus, I feel certain that in the case of the stock flyting scene it is an accident that the exchange of words seems always to be represented as taking place across water. As if initial separation were not the very condition of a word-battle preceding the real struggle! It was one of the recognized functions of the *stafnbúi* to bandy words with the hostile leader before battle.

LEE M. HOLLANDER

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REVIEWS

SOME SWEDISH BOOKS OF RECENT YEARS

Of that imposing anthology of Swedish literature, *SVERIGES NATIONALLITTERATUR*, a new edition in thirty volumes has recently been published. The work was planned by the late Oscar Levartin, who, however, did not live to see his plan carried out. The first edition (which carried the material to the end of the last century) was compiled by a group of scholars, which included Karl Warburg, Oscar Sylwan, Johan Mortensen, Sven Söderman and others under the general editorship of Henrik Schück and Ruben G-son Berg. The new edition, of which Fredrik Bök has been added as one of the editors, includes the literature of the first two decades of the new century. This is a work that should be found in every college, university and high school library where Swedish is studied. It is much more than an ordinary anthology, as it gives as many of the specimens as possible in extenso. It is a most valuable reference work, as it gives the most significant specimens of Swedish literature from the Reformation down to our own day.

Another work of importance which combines the character of reference work with that of real literary contribution, is the new edition of *SVENSKT BIOGRAFISKT LEXIKON*, edited by Bertil Boethius, with the assistance of an advisory committee among whose members are Henrik Schück and Ludvig Stavenow.

Henrik Schück has a long list of works to his credit; his first book after his doctor's dissertation on "The Elizabethan Drama," was a large octavo volume on William Shakespeare (or Shakspeare, as Schück spells his name) and thirty years later he returned to the same subject, with an entirely new work in two large, illustrated volumes. In his preface to this second work he remarks that at the age of twenty-seven, his experience in life had been too limited to enable him to write an authoritative work on Shakespeare, and that probably some one might tell him, that at sixty, one really is too old to do it. And to his own question as to when, indeed, one ought to write about Shakespeare, he answers that one ought not to do it at all—on account of the many sides of life and learning that this man's life and work touch. I would say that one should always write about Shakespeare, and that is just what Henrik Schück has done. Shakespeare has never been very far from his thought; he recurs to him here and there in that interesting series of studies and sketches called *UR GAMLA PAPPER*, and in the excellent Shakespeare-chapter in Schück's book on the Renaissance bears witness to this effect; it could not have been written by one who had not again returned to the subject in all its diversities. The work on the Renaissance is part of Schück's *ALLMÄN LITTERATURHISTORIA*, the first four volumes of which have brought the story to the end of the seventeenth century—two more volumes will complete the work. It is based on Professor Schück's lectures at the University of Uppsala and retains the lively, personal style of the

lecturer. The author's abbreviated narrations of many of the masterpieces which he discusses is a particular feature of the work.

Schück has recently published several biographies. Under the title *EN ÄVENTYRARE* he has issued a new edition of his earlier monographic study of the life and works of the poet-adventurer Lars Wivallius, without the literary apparatus of the former edition. Under the title *VÅR FÖRSTE FÖRFATTARE* he tells the story of Petrus de Dacia, the Swedish Dominican monk whose biography of Christina of Stommeln, written in Latin, is the earliest literary work by a Swede that has come down to us. In *ENGELBREKT* he tells what is known of the life of this mine owner of German descent, who was the first leading Swede to conceive of all the Swedish provinces as composing one realm, who not only definitely began the work of freeing the country from the foreign yoke (which work was completed by Gustav Vasa) but also admitted the peasants to the Diet and thereby stayed the movement, already begun, to bind them in servitude to the manors of the great lords. He has also written the lives of the Swedish catholic Johannes Messenius, of Carl Reinhold Berch, the antiquarian and numismatist, and of the botanist and traveler Petter Forsskål, pupil of Linné.

SVENSKA FOLKETS HISTORIA is the title of a new coöperative work in Swedish history the first two volumes of which, covering the pre-historic age and the Middle Ages, are written by Henrik Schück, while the century of the Reformation is treated by Helge Almquist. Of the earlier standard *SVERIGES HISTORIA* a third edition is in course of publication. The first volume was rewritten by its original author, the late Oscar Montelius; other parts are written mostly by new writers, each a specialist in his branch of the subject.

Grimberg's popularly written *SVENSKA FOLKETS UNDERBARA ÖDEN* is now complete in nine handy volumes. With its easy flowing style, its informal treatment of the story, its introductory chapters upon the details of *kulturhistoria*, and occasional brief but exhaustive biographical sketches, this book will appeal not only to the youth, but to everyone who wants a rapid, but reasonably complete view of the history of the Swedish people.

New and complete editions of the works of Geijer and Tegnér containing much new material, are going through the press. Both are arranged chronologically, an arrangement that will prove particularly helpful in the case of Tegnér. In the edition of Geijer's works exceptions have been made for the poems and the letters, which are brought together in separate volumes.

Two important collections of letters are being published: Pontus Wikner's and Viktor Rydberg's. When complete they will prove valuable contributions to the spiritual history of nineteenth century Sweden, aside from their personal interest. Wikner's correspondence is published as part of his *SKRIFTER*.

Snoilsky's letters published some years ago under the title *CARL SNOILSKY OCH HANS VÄNNER*, gives an interesting picture of this fastidious, democractic aristocrat, whose true liberalism was always clear-sighted. During the eighties he lived in Dresden and his letters of that period showed his sympathy with the new literature that was growing up in Sweden, without his being

blind to its crudities. He shared, as is well known, the social interests of that time. His correspondence with G. E. Klemming, whom he succeeded as Royal Librarian, was published in a separate volume by *Föreningen för Bokhandverk*. It is very largely concerned with bibliographical matters, but contains much of a personal, intimate nature.

Fredrik Böök has written a biography of Artur Hazelius, in which he shows the growth of the idea that was materialized in Nordiska Museet and Skansen, its development out of Hazelius' interest in the purity of the Swedish language.

To the ten volumes of Gustaf Fröding's *SAMLADE SKRIFTER* were recently added six more volumes, containing what was previously published in the three large volumes of *Posthuma skrifter*. The last two volumes contain, with some curious omissions, Fröding's letters; the 11th to the 14th contain in one chronological sequence what was previously grouped in the three divisions *Kdserier*, *Allvar, mer eller mindre*, and *Litteratur*. It is unfortunate that the contents of volumes 9 and 10 could not have been combined with this.

AKSEL G. S. JOSEPHSON

Fairhope, Alabama

ORDBOK ÖVER FAGEREDSMÅLET av Joh. Kalén. Göteborg, 1923. Pp. XI+469. Göteborgs kungl. Vetenskaps-och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar. Fjärde Följden. XXIV.

Fagered Parish is that part of Halland which juts up into Västergötland at the meeting point of Mark and Kind districts. The population is ca. 750 persons. It is entirely a rural community, we learn from the author's introduction; there are no villages. As every reader will know, it was originally Danish territory, and we are told that this difference of nationality is even today evidenced everywhere along the border between Halland and Västergötland, in customs and usages, and especially in the dialect. As it is a forest settlement somewhat shut off from surrounding settlements it is a conservative community where the old has maintained itself well; and we should, of course, look for many archaic features in the dialect. That this is a fact is something that is emphasized by Kalén; and yet when we compare forms with many West Scandinavian conservative dialect regions, or even some others in Sweden, Fagered does not appear to me to be especially archaic. Yet it is clear that a great many old words here live on, and old uses of other words; there is less of the old in the inflexions apparently. At least a brief examination indicates this; the author has not purposed to give an account of these things; his intention has been exclusively to give us a dictionary of the dialect, although he does summarize some outstanding features in pronunciation and in endings on pp. 7-10 of the introduction. It is not my wish to review here this very valuable addition to works on our Scandinavian dialects but merely to call attention to its merits; there should be many readers of this Journal who will wish to own it.

Here is an excellent example of what interest, ambition, and industry can do, even where the technical philological training was at the outset lacking. The

author informs us of this in the introduction, how he became interested, how he proceeded against discouragement (by some philologist) because he lacked this training, and that in the face of this, his work would have little value. But he went ahead collecting words and forms and acquainting himself with the technical notations, and the literature on the subject; and among other things he attended the Upsala summer school in 1899 and again in 1910. In the latter year he found a sympathetic advisor in Professor Otto von Friesen and he went ahead again with new inspiration and with redoubled effort. The dictionary before us is the result; it is the work of thirty years, and he has given us something that has been eminently worth while. It is a well-done piece of work that in its field will have permanent value.

His plan has been to give the briefest definitions compatible with clearness; in fact, throughout the whole dictionary a word rarely takes up more than one line. Words that correspond in meaning to the *Riksmål* word are not even defined. Now this also enables us to estimate pretty closely the number of words in actual use in this dialect. There are (on an average) 44 words dealt with per page, and there are pages 3-469, i.e., 467 pages. That makes 20,548 dialect words for the Fagered dialect. But it must be borne in mind that of the different classes of words which every dialect possesses this dictionary as nearly every other, purposes to present only two classes, namely: 1, those words that differ in form from High Swedish, and 2, those that are used differently, whether the form agrees or not. There still remains as the linguistic possession of Fagered dialect speakers that considerable body of words which both in form and use are identical with those of High Swedish. This would be the smaller class, of course, but it would perhaps add a thousand or two to the total. A 4th class, the proper names, the names of places, lakes, rivers, brooks, hills, knolls, rocks, fields, etc. are not included; nor names of animals, or words found only in nicknames. I am glad to learn from the introduction that the collecting of these has been completed and that Mr. Kalén is now engaged in the preparation of the material for publication. We hope that this volume may appear in the near future.

GEORGE T. FLOW

FESTSKRIFT TILEGNET FØRSTEBIBLIOTHEKAR A. KJÆR. Christiania, 1924. Pp. 126. Cammermeyers Boghandel. Jacob Dybwad. Grøndahl & Søn.

First Librarian of the University of Christiania A. Kjær retired two years ago. Now on the 26th of September he was 72 years old. The present publication is a memorial volume gotten out in his honor by students of his, by colleagues and admirers. The three publishers named above have given evidence of their readiness to support science and of their progressiveness by defraying all the expenses of the publication. The first article in the volume is one by Hjalmar Falk on "Mytologiens gudesønner," pp. 1-8, while in the same general field Sten Konow discusses "Njord og Káli" pp. 53-60. This is a comparative study of Njord and the ancient Hindoo goddess of fruitfulness and vegetation. In an

article entitled "Lina laukar," with a reference to the Fløksand runic inscription, S. Eitrem explains the words as relating to an ancient fertility cult, 85-94. S. Laache gives a brief survey, 9-13, of the high points in the history of the development of medicine, while O. M. Sandvik treats of "Forholdet mellem text og tone i norsk folkemusik." (22-27). There are many other articles in this volume of varied content. I must mention Didrik Arup Seip's "Pronomenet *hvem* i gammelnorsk," pp. 70-73, and Magnus Olsen's on "Norske ønavne," pp. 61-65, in which are discussed the names *Spind* in West Adger, *Gossen* in Romsdal, and *Smølen* in Nordmøre. The second of these is derived from the stem **gors*, 'myr,' 'dynd,' which seems absolutely correct.¹ Finally I shall note Gustav Indrebø's discussion of "Kopr" (80-84), in such names as *Kopren* in Jondal, Hardanger, and *Kopper*, in Fedje Parish in Lindaas, identifying the name with ON. *kopr*, Norw. dial. *kopp*, and the meaning to be 'round hollow,' 'depression.' Early occurrences of the word are noted, as in chapter 77 of the *Sverri saga*, where the word appears as the name of a part of Bergen, a part somewhat above St. Mary's church. I believe the etymology offered is correct. The memorial volume is attractively gotten up and beautifully printed on glazed paper.

G. T. F.

¹ It remains in the ON. *gor*, n. "mavevælling," and Norw. dial. *gor*, n. "dynd," "*søle*," "*fiskeindvold*," p. 63.

FÆRØYARNE. Hans Reynolds. Nidaros. 1923. Pp. 158. G. Krogshus Forlag.

We have here an excellent popular book about the Faroese people, that anyone can read and enjoy, provided he reads the landsmaal. The author spent the year 1902 in the Faroes, then came back to Norway and wrote a book about them. Of this book the present is the 2nd and enlarged edition; it is furthermore supplied with a map of the islands and 52 illustrations, which add materially to the interest of the work. The pictures are all good, some of them excellent, and they are well selected. The publisher is to be congratulated upon this feature as well as on the beautiful make-up of the volume.¹ Upon this feature I add that there are five pictures of the capital Torshavn with its quaint streets, old houses and the harbor; also pictures of a spinning scene for the indoor activity, and a whaling scene as representing a chief outdoor activity. It is fitting too that there should be a picture of Magnus Cathedral, and one of the memorial stone over the grave of the hero of the *Færþyinga saga*, Sigmund Bresteson. I must not forget either to mention the excellent facsimile of one page of *Saudabrevet* which appears on p. 72. The charter was written in 1298 by Barðr Péturson, a notary of Earl Hakon; the original is preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm. It was first reproduced in the *Palaeografisk Atlas*, 1905, as number 53 (the same page as in the volume before us).

¹ On the title page there is a picture, in colors, of a Faroe-dweller in the national costume holding the national banner.

The author, after some introductory pages of Faroese history, speaks of the people, their manners, dress, houses, the Faroese dance, etc.; this is then followed by a discussion of the dialect, the literature, schools and church; and finally agriculture, and the fishing industry (which is very extensive). An account is given of the *Føroya Bókafélag*, which publishes a year-book, and books in Faroese. In 1908 there was organized further, *Hitt føroyska*² *Bókmentafélagið*, and *Varðin*, two other publishing societies. This in a country of 15,000 people on the confines of Europe! We are informed that the law says that the language of instruction in the schools must be Danish; but the Faroese speak a strange Danish, and the teachers have to use Faroese to the children when they really want them to understand. The Faroese are intensely patriotic, which finds beautiful expression in a very fine national song: *Tú alfagra Land mítt, mín dýrasta Ogn* ('Thou fairest land of mine, my most precious heritage'), written by Símun Skarð. The Faroese language is one of the richest of Scandinavian dialects in point of wealth of vocabulary and the ability to express fine shades of meaning. Jakob Jakobsen gave this subject some study, and he came to the conclusion that a complete dictionary of Faroese would be as large as the two Norwegian dialect dictionaries of Aasen and Ross combined.³ Reynolds gives on p. 57 some examples of the foreign influence in the language, as *bedrøvaður* for *harmur*; *Beinnílsí* for *Upphav*, etc. The effort to purify the language is now rather active.

G. T. F.

Urbana, Oct. 30, 1924.

² Misprinted *forføyska*.

³ This seems incredible, and it may be the total body collected would not show it to be the case.

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THE BEGINNING OF AMERICAN INTEREST IN SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE

The current American interest in Scandinavian culture is but the revival and culmination of an interest, now largely forgotten, which began almost a century ago. During the first decades of our republic, it is true, the information about the North, outside of purely commercial circles, was supplied almost exclusively by British reviews, historical works, translations, and travelogues pertaining to the Scandinavian countries. The number and character of these, however, was not very flattering to the northern lands, and throughout that period the general interest in them was not very large. But the foreign books, no matter how prejudiced and misleading, had helped stimulate a desire to know more about Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and so one British account of "A northern summer," dealing in part with travels in Denmark and Sweden, was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1805. There may have been earlier American reprints. In January, 1829, an original, anonymous review of Scandinavian mythology, poetry and history, based chiefly on the Poetic Edda, appeared in the *North American Review*, eight years before Longfellow's pioneer article on *Frithiofs Saga* was published in the same periodical; "a geographical account of Iceland, Greenland, the islands of the Frozen seas, etc.", containing traditional descriptions of Mt. Hecla and other volcanoes of Iceland, was published in Boston in 1831, the year that the same city printed "Tales of travels in the north of Europe, including Brook's Travels in Lapland, Conway's Travels in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, etc." Less prominent narratives of tours in those countries had also made their appearance, and after a short time others followed.

Within a dozen years there came such a marked reception and study of certain Scandinavian authors, both in the original and in translation, that in 1845 Edgar Allen Poe complained in a review that America had been "fairly overwhelmed with both good and bad from the literature of France, Germany, and Sweden." The last refers unquestionably first of all to Long-

fellow's well-known translations from Tegnér, which Poe criticised severely; but as a matter of fact, besides this poet, two Swedish novelists, Fredrika Bremer and Emelie Flygare-Carlén, had through their popular prose writings securely established themselves among American readers by 1845. American editions of their novels had appeared two years before. And we might add here that a version of Holberg's "Niels Klim's journey under the ground" was published in Boston the same year that Poe felt so apprehensive about the foreign literary invasion. Again, only five years later, a separate American edition of "King René's daughter: a lyric drama," by the Danish author, Henrik Hertz, saw the light in Massachusetts; and in January of that same year, 1850, Ralph Waldo Emerson in his *Representative Men* had proclaimed a Swede, Emanuel Swedenborg, as the world's dominating type of mystic.

Emerson's deification of Swedenborg could not fail to cause some reaction and interest, and to be a forceful reminder that there had been at least one great intellectual and spiritual prophet of universal recognition, if not appeal, in modern Scandinavia. In 1838 Emerson had noted in his *Journal* that Swedenborg might be "a third or a fourth great genius of the world" who was to "set his mark on ages and on following millions." To be a reader of Swedenborg, he repeated a year later, was to receive the "uncomputed force" of a genius still unmeasured. The rehabilitation of this Scandinavian seer became almost a duty and a religion to the stern New Englander. Later, whether right or wrong, and whether or no we quarrel with his feeling about it, Emerson heralded his favorite as one of the five immortal *poets* who defy powers of destruction, and as one of the five great poetic teachers of the human race, the other four being Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe. In the "Solution," the answer to the "The Test" (1861), the muse pronounces this judgment:

Far in the North, where polar night
Holds in check the frolic light,
In trance upborne past mortal goal
The Swede EMANUEL leads the soul.
Through snows alone, mines underground,

The inks of Erebus he found;
 Rehearsed to men the damnèd wails
 On which the seraph music sails,
 In spirit-worlds he trod alone,
 But walked the earth unmarked, unknown.
 The near bystander caught no sound,—
 Yet they who listened far aloof
 Heard rendings of the skyey roof,
 And felt, beneath, the quaking ground;
 And his air-sown, unheeded words,
 In the next age, are flaming swords.

In the meantime the minds of some Americans had been attracted to the study of the Scandinavian dialects. While there was obviously no widespread or very profound knowledge of the North during the first quarter of the last century, nevertheless the serious study of the Scandinavian languages by certain learned and ambitious individuals began surprisingly early. At least four native Americans of national and international renown mastered these dialects during the thirties. Besides Longfellow, who studied Danish, Swedish, and Finnish on Northern territory in the summer of 1835, there were James Gates Percival, Elihu Burritt, and the Honorable George Perkins Marsh.

Percival, born in the year 1795 in the town of Berlin, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale, a physician, botanist, teacher, geologist, linguist, and, above all, a poet, appears to have been one of the first Americans of any prominence to take an active interest in the Scandinavian tongues. Percival was an extremely modest, sensitive soul, who early in life gave up his medical practice because some of his scarlet-fever patients died, and who—according to a verbal confidence by an elderly lady of his home town—was so bashful that once when he was to deliver a lecture before a group of young ladies he asked permission to stand *behind* the audience during the ordeal. He much preferred silent study and research to society, and in languages he gained ultimately an acquaintance with every European dialect, save Turkish. Partly to satisfy his curiosity and partly because of his ardent sympathy with everything stern and heroic, he plunged into the mysteries of Norse, Danish, and Swedish. And the

study of these had begun sometime before February, 1834; we do not know just how long before that date, perhaps several years, for Percival was then well nigh forty years old. But in that month he wrote to George Ticknor from New Haven that besides Greek and Latin, Italian, French, and German, he had studied "Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish, and that comparatively in the order here given." Whatever the final extent of Percival's command of the last two languages, it marked at all events the beginning of a new individual interest in the North.

Elihu Burritt of New Britain, Connecticut, "the learned blacksmith," reformer and peace advocate, who in course of time acquired a workable knowledge of most principal languages of the day, both European and Asiatic—he is said to have mastered thirty-two of them—included Scandinavian in his linguistic repertoire. Indeed, his study of the various modern tongues began in 1832—in a Yale atmosphere, though independent of it,—but it is not probable that he gained an acquaintance with the Scandinavian dialects before Percival. He continued his language studies from 1837 to 1839 in Worcester, Massachusetts—dividing his time between the anvil and his books—and in the library of the American Antiquarian Society found the necessary material for mastering Old Norse. He there translated, either from the original or from Danish versions extracts of Icelandic sagas, with introductory notes, for the *American Eclectic* magazine, and more particularly those relating to the discovery of America by the Northmen. These selections were published in 1841, and this unusual performance drew attention to his scholastic attainments.—It was in Worcester, several years later, that Fredrika Bremer met Elihu Burritt.

Another language prodigy was G. P. Marsh, author, collector, and diplomat, who eventually served his country abroad for a longer period of time than any predecessor had ever done, not excepting Franklin. At the time of his death in 1882, Marsh possessed one of the largest private collections of Scandinavian literature in existence, and in 1844 Marsh himself assumed it to be *the largest* of all foreign collections. This sounds like a

gross exaggeration when we think of libraries like the British Museum, but it was undoubtedly, in 1882, the largest of its kind in America. The greater part of it was bought and presented to the University of Vermont at Burlington, where it forms to-day one of the treasures of that university library. We shall return to this collection presently.

How Mr. Marsh came to study the northern languages is not without significance:

"Soon after" 1825, when Marsh was admitted to the bar and took up his residence in Burlington, "in the course of his legal studies, he was led, in tracing the historical relations of English law, to the investigation of its northern origins, and thus to the study of the Scandinavian languages and literatures. In 1833 he wrote to C. C. Rafn requesting 'the titles of a few of the latest works upon the literary history, bibliography, and criticism of the three Northern languages.' . . . Not being able to find an American bookseller who had a correspondent at Copenhagen or Stockholm, he had been obliged to procure his books through Germany." (Preface to the Marsh Library Catalogue.)

Marsh, then, had probably commenced his study of these dialects before 1833, and if "soon after 1825" is to be taken literally the palm of chronological glory for personal, discriminating, and purposive self-education in the Scandinavian languages must, presumably, be awarded to George Perkins Marsh. This much is certain: there was a genuine, practical interest in these tongues by this promising American lawyer and scholar about a hundred years ago. His "Compendious Grammar of the Old Northern or Icelandic Language," based on the work of the Danish philologist Rask but representing much original labor, appeared in Burlington in 1838, "though written three or four years earlier." An American had proved himself an adept in Old Norse.

In the year 1841, also, Marsh published translations and abridgments of authoritative articles or reviews on Icelandic historical literature, the Swedish painter Hörberg, and Rudbeck's *Atlantica* in the *American Eclectic*, the same year that a brief summary of Scandinavian mythology, by a Swedish-born counsellor at law, Gustavus Schmidt, a resident of New Orleans, appeared in the same periodical.

"Marsh," writes a biographer, "won literary fame by his essays and philological studies, particularly in the languages and literature of northern Europe. He was a fine Scandinavian scholar, a lover of Scandinavian history, and of the legends, sagas, and weird mythology of the Northland, and was a great admirer of the Goths, tracing whatever was great and individual in the character of the founders of New England to the influence of Gothic [i.e. Nordic or more particularly Scandinavian] blood."

Mr. Marsh gained a command over both the spoken Scandinavian idiom and the printed word. In 1849, as United States minister to Turkey, he could converse with the representatives of Denmark and Sweden-Norway in their own tongues.

The following description of the Scandinavian part of the Marsh collection as it existed in 1844 is an eloquent testimony to an American's interest in northern literature eighty years ago. The owner writes to Charles Lanman:

"My library consists of something less than five thousand volumes. . . . It is meager in all departments except that of Scandinavian literature, in which I suppose it to be more complete than any collection out of the northern kingdoms. In old Northern literature it contains all the Arna-Magnaean editions of the Icelandic Sagas, all those of Suhm, all those of the Royal Society of Northern antiquaries, and, in fact, all those printed at Copenhagen and Stockholm, as well as in Iceland, with scarcely an exception. I possess also the great editions of Heimskringla, the two Eddas, Kongs-Skuggsjá, Konunga Styrlse, the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, *Scriptores Rerum Svecicarum*, *Dansk Magasin*, the two complete editions of Olaus Magnus, Saxo Grammaticus, the works of Bartholinus, Torfæus, Schöning, Suhm, Pontoppidan, Grundtvig, Petersen, Rask, the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck, the great works of Sjöborg, Liljegren, Geijer, Cronholm, and Strinnholm, all the collections of old Icelandic, Danish, and Swedish laws, and almost all the writers, ancient and modern, who have treated of the language, literature or history of the ancient Scandinavian race. In modern Danish literature, I have the works of Holberg, Ewald, Heiberg, Baggesen, Oehlenschläger, Ingemann, Nyerup, with other celebrated authors; in Swedish, those of Leopold, Oxenstjerna, Bellman, Franzén, Atterbom, Tegnér, Fredrika Bremer and indeed almost all the *Belles lettres* authors of Sweden, the transactions of the Royal Academy of Science (more than one hundred volumes), those of the Swedish Academy, and of the Royal Academy of Literature, and many collections in documentary history, besides numerous other works."

Caroline Crane Marsh, wife of the preceding, was especially well versed in Swedish, and, according to Bayard Taylor, translated Tegnér's *Axel* into excellent English. On the other

hand, it is practically certain that Poe, who attacked Longfellow's translations from the Swedish in a manner that would indicate an intimate knowledge of that language, knew but little Swedish, if any at all.

Bayard Taylor's interest in the North dates from the late forties, when he enthused over *Frithiofs Saga* and dreamed of visiting the land of the Vikings. He, also, gained a good knowledge of the Scandinavian languages, including modern Icelandic, and became especially competent in the spoken Swedish. Taylor published in the late fifties a volume on the Scandinavian peninsula based on first-hand information; edited the first complete American edition of *Frithiofs Saga* in 1867; wrote an epic pastoral of Norway in 1773; and visited Iceland the year after.

When Bayard Taylor first tramped through Europe, he enjoyed the companionship of another enthusiast in matters Norse, Barclay Pennock. In 1851 Pennock made a second trip to Europe, where he remained a few years, much of his time being spent in Norway and Sweden studying the languages of those countries. The imprint of his translation of Rudolph Keyser's *The Religion of the Northmen* bears the date 1854, and Pennock is credited, besides, with having converted into English a romance of Iceland and a volume of Scandinavian folklore. He died, unfortunately, at the premature age of thirty-eight.

During the early fifties, when literary and intellectual America became personally acquainted with exponents of Swedish letters and Swedish song through the visit of Fredrika Bremer and the concert tour of Jenny Lind, the cultural interest in the North received a quickening impulse, as is evidenced by the poetic eulogies that were addressed by American writers and critics to these remarkable women. Whittier, for example, paid a tribute to Miss Bremer, and Mrs. Sigourney penned a warm encomium in honor of the art and character of the famous singer. Philadelphia published a memoranda of Miss Lind's life by none other than Nathaniel Parker Willis; and even the reserved Emerson, who was usually sparing in his compliments, recorded uniquely in his journal that Jenny Lind's voice was worth that of a hundred constables, so quickly could she bring

a noisy audience to silence. *She* need not go to California, said the "Alp of Cambridge"; California would come to her.

All this had a meaning, and in so far as it was public it was effective advertising for the North. In 1851, again, Carl J. L. Almquist, the gifted liberal and poet, the author of the revolutionary *Sara Videbeck*, had escaped from Sweden to our shores, a fugitive from debts and other difficulties. Under an assumed name, he earned a scanty living by writing, tutoring languages, doing anything else that he could, and maybe lecturing occasionally. It is barely possible that he became in favorable moments and circumstances an emissary of Scandinavian letters in certain circles of America.

It was during the latter part of the same decade that a course in a Scandinavian language was added to the college curriculum of an American institution of learning. Strangely enough, as Professor Flom pointed out several years ago, this was in an eastern university.

"In 1858," writes Dr. Flom, "a professorship in Scandinavian languages and literature was founded in New York University, the incumbent being Paul C. Sinding of the Sinding family of Danish and Norwegian artists and composers. The instruction, however, was limited to a private class in Danish and Danish-Norwegian, for which no credit was given. The courses were withdrawn in 1861 when Professor Sinding resigned his post and returned to Denmark. . . . The historical interest of the introduction of the courses lies in the fact that Scandinavian literature received recognition at a time when even German and French had no regular recognition in American universities."

In the year 1858, also, appeared a *History of Scandinavia* in New York, by Professor Sinding, a work which seems to have required ten editions within as many years.

Every modern American student of Scandinavian literature has heard of the Fiske Icelandic Collection in Cornell University. The beginnings of this collection, likewise, take us back to the middle of the nineteenth century, when the originator, Daniel Willard Fiske, left Hamilton College in his Sophomore year to study Scandinavian languages in Europe. He remained for two years at Uppsala and Copenhagen, giving lessons and lectures the while on American literature; "learned to use the Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish languages with the facility of a native";

and brought back to America in 1852 an academic recognition from Uppsala. When Cornell University was founded in 1868, Fiske was made professor of the North-European languages and librarian of the University, a position which he held until 1883, and the present curator of the Icelandic collection conjectures, and probably correctly so, that Fiske was the first man to offer courses in Icelandic in an American university. Among his pupils were Professor W. H. Carpenter of Columbia and the late Arthur Middleton Reeves, who accompanied their teacher on a trip to Iceland in 1879. In 1869, a department of Scandinavian languages and literatures was established at the University of Wisconsin, and a Norwegian-Danish grammar was published in Chicago in 1872: the study of Scandinavian had been definitely introduced into the higher institutions of learning in America.

Some conception of the public interest in the literary productions of Scandinavia may be obtained when we recall that in 1882 Hans Christian Andersen was represented on book lists by over a hundred different English and American editions or titles. Asbjørnsen's "Popular tales" had been published in Boston in 1859. Miss Bremer's novels and sketches had required seventy-eight publication items in Great Britain and America by 1868, not counting duplicate printings of the same edition. A bibliography before the writer lists twenty-seven American and English numbers of Mrs. Carlén's novels; and in the beginning of the seventies Boston, Hartford, and Philadelphia published translations of nine popular novels by Marie Sophie Schwartz. During the same decade America translated and published classical works by Runeberg, Rydberg, and Topelius; even August Blanche was represented; and Mrs. Ole Bull introduced Jonas Lie to American readers.

By 1880 Brandes, Björnson, and Ibsen had been introduced to the whole world, including the United States: the modern era of literary interest in Scandinavia had arrived.

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BERTHOLD AUERBACH'S "DIE FEINDLICHEN
BRÜDER" AND BJØRNSON'S STORY OF THE
TWO BROTHERS, BÅRD AND ANDERS,
IN "EN GLAD GUT": A COMPARISON

1) *The Question of Influence*

In his classic monograph upon *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson* (II, pp. 617-619) Christen Collin has treated the question of Berthold Auerbach's influence upon Bjørnson. Collin here states that Bjørnson had undoubtedly been deeply impressed with certain phases of Auerbach's delineation of the peasant character¹ (particularly Auerbach's portrayal of the darker side of peasant life and the tragic relation between the old and the new generation).

While we may agree with Collin in regard to this general hypothesis, it seems to me extremely hazardous to attribute any particular phase of Bjørnson's stories to the influence of Auerbach's *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten* (1843-1854). For instance, regarding Auerbach's *Der Lehnhold* Collin says (p. 617): "Af denne fortælling er Bjørnson efter mit skjøn ikke ganske upaavirket i 'Englad gut' og kanske ogsaa i 'Faderen.'" Collin offers no internal evidence in behalf of this assumption and in view of this lack of evidence one may well doubt the validity of the assertion. To be sure, Bjørnson may have learned "something from Auerbach in his critical view of the peasant character," as Collin states,² but I have found nothing in these two works of Bjørnson (mentioned by Collin) to substantiate Collin's assertion as to Auerbach's influence upon Bjørnson.

¹ Cf. Collin, II, p. 618: "Auerbachs i det hele temmelig mørke billede af storbønderne og af det tragiske forhold mellem den gamle og den unge slekt har utvilsomt gjort et betydeligt indtryk paa Bjørnson. Derom vidner ikke mindst Bjørnsens skitser 'Fra Bergens Stift,' trykt i 'Aftenlæsning,' Kjøbenhavn 1861."

² Cf. Collin, II, p. 618: "Men foruden at Bjørnson sandsynligvis har lært noget af Auerbach i sit kritiske syn paa storbønder, i 'En glad gut' og 'Faderen' . . ."

On the other hand, Collin's assumption³ that Bjørnson's story of the two brothers, Bård and Anders, in *En glad gut*, may have been founded on a similar theme contained in Auerbach's *Die feindlichen Brüder* seems to me entirely justified. Collin here clearly recognizes the difficulties in the way of establishing an assumption of influence and accordingly leaves the question open, though favoring the hypothesis that Bjørnson's theme was founded on Auerbach's story.

Against the assumption of influence there may be brought at least two fundamental arguments (one of which Collin recognizes), viz., 1) because (as Collin⁴ points out) such a theme (i.e., about two brothers who became enemies because of a quarrel over an inheritance) may possibly have been native to Norwegian as well as to German folk lore, and 2) because according to Bjørnson's own testimony,⁵ he did not read "*Die feindlichen Brüder*" until after writing *En glad gut*.

In regard to the first point it may be said that the "brotherhood" theme (i.e., a quarrel between two brothers and their reconciliation) was treated by Bjørnson in his *Sigurd Jorsalfar* (1872) quite independently of Auerbach. Since the idea of brotherhood is a fundamental notion of Christianity (which Bjørnson characteristically expresses as the moral of this episode in his verses "*Ælsk din næste, du kristensjæl*"), it is not at all necessary to assume that Bjørnson's conception of the relation between the two brothers, Bård and Anders, was due to Auerbach's story, although the *cause* of the quarrel (i.e., the question of the inheritance) may have been suggested by Auerbach's story.

In regard to the second point; Collin thinks it probable that though Bjørnson at this time may not himself have read Auer-

³ Cf. Collin, II, p. 618: "... er der en af de allerypperste episoder i "*En glad gut*," som kanske maa antages at være bygget paa Auerbachs forarbeide."

⁴ Cf. Collin, II, p. 619: "Ganske vist er det muligt, at en lignende fortælling om en arvetvist mellem brødre (som selvfølgelig forekom hyppig ogsaa i Norge) vil kunne findes blandt norske folke-traditioner."

⁵ Cf. Collin, II, p. 619: "Saavidt han erindrer, læste han den først senere og fandt den saa god, at den ikke havde behøvet at omdigtes."

bach's tale he may, nevertheless, have heard some one *repeat it by word of mouth*.⁶

But why did not Bjørnson mention this fact, if it was so? Surely a story told in his native Norwegian (with all that personal contact between narrator and listener which enlivens any tale) would have produced a much deeper impression upon Bjørnson than reading the same story in a foreign language. In fact, Bjørnson was not exactly sure whether he had read Auerbach's story *before* or *after* writing *En glad gut*, for Collin says: "*Saavidt han erindrer, læste han den først senere . . .*"; which goes to show at least that after *reading* Auerbach's tale Bjørnson could not have been very deeply impressed with it. Of course, it is possible that Bjørnson *did* hear Auerbach's story told by word of mouth but that Collin failed to elicit this information from Bjørnson. Yet it would seem as if Collin could hardly have neglected so important a point. However, at the time in question, the relationship of the two authors may not have seemed so important a problem as it does at the present day, when every corner and nook of the literary world are being ransacked for literary "influences." Collin may, after all, be right in assuming that Bjørnson could have heard Auerbach's tale and have been impressed with its theme and yet at the same time have failed to mention these facts.

Setting aside the question of direct evidence—which is not always convincing, especially since an author's personal testimony may often be quite misleading⁷—the resemblance in general theme and in many individual details between the two stories in question is so marked that one is *à priori* justified in assuming the possibility of Auerbach's influence upon Bjørnson in this episode about the two brothers. It might not be out of place, therefore, to present here a résumé of the two stories, pointing out the important features in common between them, as well as their principal points of divergence. Such an analysis cannot, of course, enable us either to prove or disprove the

⁶ Cf. Collin, II, p. 619: "Eller Bjørnson kan have hørt Auerbachs novelle mundtlig fortalt uden selv at have læst den."

⁷ Cf., e.g., Ibsen's emphatic denial of Kierkegaard's influence upon his *Brand*.

influence of Auerbach upon Bjørnson, but it may at least throw light upon Bjørnson's originality even where he is suspected of having borrowed his theme from another author. Strikingly similar as the two stories are in their main theme, they, nevertheless, reveal a difference in treatment characteristic of the two writers.

2) *Important Features in Common*

The theme of both stories is the hatred between two brothers, caused by a quarrel over an inheritance (with Auerbach *a chest of money*, with Bjørnson *a valuable gold watch*). Not being able to agree as to who should receive this precious heirloom, it is auctioned off in public, whereby one brother obtains the desired article at an exorbitant price but at the same time incurs the undying hatred of his brother. The two brothers then remain implacable enemies for many years; the final reconciliation being brought about with Auerbach by the intervention of the village priest and with Bjørnson by the fatal illness of one of the brothers.

3) *Significant Points of Divergence in the Treatment of this Theme*

One striking difference between Auerbach and Bjørnson in the treatment of this theme is the fact that the characters of the two brothers and of the community in which they live are so fundamentally different in the two stories.

With Auerbach the two brothers, Michel and Koanradle, are depicted as naturally mean and wicked; with Bjørnson, on the other hand, the two brothers, Bård and Anders, are represented as naturally good and kind.

With Auerbach there is no evidence that the two brothers had ever lived together in peace and harmony. Indeed, we receive the impression that like the two brothers in Schiller's *Braut von Messina* Michel and Koanradle are "fated" to quarrel with each other by reason of the very perversity of their natures, which Auerbach takes care to delineate with realistic detail. The quarrel over the heirloom seems more like an outward circumstance which was "fated" to bring about this unnatural

strife than as the actual cause of it. Furthermore, the two brothers live in a community of people who seem to be as devoid of human sympathy as are the brothers themselves. The townspeople view this quarrel as a sort of amusement invented for their especial benefit, egging the brothers on in this unnatural strife.⁸ There seems to be no pity, no sympathy, no Christian love in this peasant community of small lives and smaller souls.

How differently are the two brothers depicted in Bjørnson's account! Before the time of the disagreement over the heirloom, the two brothers have lived together in an ideal relation of brotherly love, and the townspeople all look upon them with pride. Nor after the quarrel do we hear anything of such heartless buffoonery as was practised by the villagers in Auerbach's tale. How wholesome, how simple and how touching is this picture of the two village boys before the time of this unfortunate quarrel! "De holdt meget av hværandre, lot sig begge hværve, levde i byen sammen, var med i krigen, hvor de begge blev korporaler, og stod ved samme kompani. Da de efter krigen kom hjem igjen, syntes alle de var to staute karer."

Bjørnson thus depicts the two brothers as they once were before pride and greed had choked out their natural love for each other. How different from Auerbach's tale in which this quarrel is nothing more nor less than the natural outcome of perverse natures!

In Bjørnson's tale we feel that there has been a most unfortunate misunderstanding and the more the pity of it when we remember the brothers as they were in their boyhood days.

In Auerbach's tale, on the other hand, we feel that the auction sale has resulted simply in a *new* cause for hatred and envy between the two brothers and we are in no wise shocked at this, for we feel it to be nothing more than an acute phase of an otherwise chronic condition.

By representing this quarrel as the result of a misunderstanding between two naturally good brothers, Bjørnson

⁸ "Im ganzen Dorfe wurde die Kistengeschichte zu allerlei Spass und Lustbarkeit benutzt . . ."

"Auch sonst schürten die Leute den Hass der Brüder, nicht gerade immer aus Bosheit, sondern weil es ihnen Spass machte."

heightens the dramatic tension of his story and arouses our sympathy with his characters, while Auerbach leaves us with the impression that his characters are hopeless and unworthy of sympathy.

It is also a significant fact—and one which proves Bjørnson's keen psychological insight—that at the time of the quarrel Bård and Anders are represented as still young men, for the action takes place immediately after their return home from war. Their quarrel seems on this account too more like an outburst of youthful temper than the expression of fixed habits or of attitude, as is the case with Auerbach's brothers who are both well along in years ("schon sehr bei Jahren") when the quarrel arises.

One passage in Bjørnson's story illustrates particularly well how Bjørnson never loses sight of the fact that the two brothers are not by nature wicked or mean. I refer to the passage where Anders (who is the injured party and is far more vindictive than Bård) refuses to prosecute his brother when the latter is accused of setting fire to Anders' property. "Bård så hen til ham (Anders) da han steg in, og øjnene bad, så Anders kjænte det langt in. Han vil ikke jeg skal sige noget, tænkte Anders, og da han blev spurt om han trodde broren til hin gjærning, sa han højt og bestemt: 'Nej'?" In spite of all their differences Anders' better nature asserts itself at this crisis and brotherly love triumphs; he will not 'deny' his brother, even though he has misunderstood him. This is a fine feature and one thoroughly characteristic of Bjørnson, for which we find no counterpart in Auerbach.

The only evidence we have in Auerbach to the effect that natural love between the two brothers ever asserts itself is when one or the other brother is taken ill, "Und dann," says Auerbach, "arbeitete ein jeder von den Brüdern gewiss leise und ohne Geräusch, um den andern nicht zu stören." While the expression of such a sentiment is certainly a relief to the reader, it inspires no such admiration for the character of either brother as does Bjørnson's presentation of Anders' magnanimous and noble act.

Another very striking difference between Bjørnson and Auerbach in the treatment of their common theme is the fact that they differ widely in representing the effects of this quarrel upon the two brothers. This fact is the natural result of that difference in conception of the characters of the two brothers, which I have just treated. With Bjørnson the brothers are naturally good, with Auerbach naturally bad, or at least bad because of their environment. Consequently, we find that in Bjørnson's story Bård soon discovers his mistake and makes repeated efforts to become reconciled with his brother, while with Auerbach both brothers remain obdurate and implacable.

Characteristic of Bjørnson's fine feeling is his vivid portrayal of the disastrous effects of this quarrel upon both Bård and Anders. True to their fundamentally good character both brothers suffer spiritually and mentally from this unnatural strife. Degradation, moral and physical, sets in and misfortune of every kind seems to follow in the wake of this unnatural crime against the sanctity of the brotherhood. "Men Anders slog sig stærkt på drikken fra den dag" says Bjørnson, "og det gik meget snart dårlig med ham. Ænnu dårligere var det dog med Bård, skjönt han ikke drak; han var ikke til at kjønne igjen."

With Auerbach there is nothing of this; on the contrary both brothers seem to thrive upon their evil acts and to suffer no other discomfort than the taunts and jibes of their enemies.

Bjørnson's characters struggle through, groping about for the light, though pride prevents their reconciliation until the last. After his first attempt at reconciliation Bård's heart is completely changed; he is overcome with remorse and henceforth plays the part of a true brother, though rejected and scorned through a misunderstanding of his motives.

Auerbach's characters, on the other hand, are not in the least disturbed about the desecrated spirit of brotherhood (which they are absolutely incapable of sensing) and are finally brought together only through the primitive impulse of fear natural to such unethical and crude natures.

In keeping with this aspect of the two stories, it is significant to note the fundamental difference between Bjørnson's characters and Auerbach's characters in their view of religion and the church.

When Bård feels the sting of remorse his religious nature asserts itself and he feels impelled to seek comfort of the church which inspires him in his holy resolve to become reconciled with his brother: "Han fik trang til at søge kirken, og der tok han gode forsætter, men han orket dem ikke frem."

With Auerbach Michel who is by nature a hypocrite, attends church simply as a matter of form without the least thought of regulating his conduct in accordance with the principles of Christianity: "Aber er ging eben in die Kirche wie gar viele ohne etwas dabei zu denken und sein Leben danach einzurichten."

Thus it will be seen that Auerbach's brothers have not the least sense of those finer emotions which are the essence of love.

On the other hand, Bjørnson has hardly any finer or more human picture in his whole great gallery of noble characters than that of Bård, and in this connection I cannot refrain from quoting the following passage in which Bjørnson describes the tender emotions which overpower Bård at the sight of his wretched brother for whose lamentable condition he himself is responsible.

"Men en søndag ut på vinteren var han atter i kirke, og da var Anders der også. Bård så ham; han var blet blek og mager, de samme klær bar han som før, da de var sammen, men nu var de gamle og lappede. Under prækenen så han op på præsten, og Bård syntes han var god og blid, husket deres barneår, og hvilken god gut han var. Bård selv gik til alters den dagen, og han gjorde sin Gud det højtidelige løfte, at han skulde forlike sig med sin bror, der måtte komme hvad der vilde."

The final scene in Bjørnson's story, when Anders at the point of death receives back his brother, may also be considered as one of the most artistic and exquisite revelations of Bjørnson's genius in touching the fundamental chords of human nature.

With Auerbach, on the other hand, the final scene borders upon the farcical. One feels as if Michel and Koanradle were country clowns who have been acting out their parts for the amusement of the coarse and heartless villagers and who are now instructed how 'to be good.' After the priest thunders out his anathema upon them "verschmachtet ewig in der Hölle," the brothers clasp hands in token, as it were, of their submission

to the priest's authority; a type of conversion well suited to their characters but entirely foreign to that inner conversion of heart which in Bjørnson's tale becomes an apotheosis of brotherly love, "Ælsk din næste, du kristensjæl."

III

Conclusion

In conclusion it may be said that Bjørnson's treatment of this theme clearly reflects his Romantic ideals, his fine feeling, his psychological insight and his buoyant optimism based upon his faith in the better side of human nature. Auerbach, on the other hand, reveals here, as elsewhere, his tendency to view the darker side of the peasant character. He is here sternly realistic; he represents peasant life as it is without any glamour of the ideal. Consequently his characters are coarse and vulgar, mean and vindictive, where Bjørnson's characters represent an idealized type of Norwegian peasant, human and capable of the noblest emotions. If in my analysis of the two works I have seemed to exalt Bjørnson at Auerbach's expense, this is due rather to the character of the people who are depicted in the two stories than to the authors themselves. Yet an unprejudiced reader can hardly deny that in the case of our two stories Bjørnson shows himself to be by far the greater poet. Even if he borrowed his theme from Auerbach, we must admit Bjørnson's great originality in his treatment of it.

But what elements in this story about the two brothers could Bjørnson have owed to Auerbach, if any? My answer is, "just the bare skeleton," i.e., "the episode of the quarrel between the brothers over an inheritance." Further than this the story is all Bjørnson's own. If he did borrow this one feature from Auerbach, then he gave life to that which with Auerbach was merely the letter; he fused into the form that fine spirit which was his own. Bjørnson's impressions of Auerbach's tale, if he had any at this time, must have been very vague. Whatever they may have been, there is no internal evidence that they exerted any important influence upon his work, for all that there is in this work of fine feeling, simplicity and beauty are Bjørnson's own.

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HOLBERG'S USE OF "SEXTEN" AS AN
INDEFINITE NUMERAL

In a letter to Georg Brandes, Henrik Ibsen wrote in 1869 (26/6) about the former's criticism of his "Kongsemnerne" that Brandes' essay "had been for me what Mons Wingaard's chronicle was for Jacob von Thyboe, I have read it 16 times and 16 times till and expect to see it come in extremely useful in several wars"; a clear reminiscence of Holberg's play of the Miles Gloriosus type (II, sc. I, ed. Martensen V. 41, 4): "Den Bog har jeg læst 16 Gange, ja 16 Gange til og ført mig den til Nytte i adskillige Krige."¹

That *sexten* is here used, not in the ordinary meaning of 15+1, but as an indefinite numeral in the sense of a *good many*, is plain on the face of it, but becomes abundantly clear to anyone who should doubt it, by a reference to the numerous other passages where Holberg uses it equally indefinitely, quoted in Martensen's ed. of Holberg's Comedies, Vol. 13, p. 134, in v. *sexten*, where, by the side of our passage, no less than twenty-two others are enumerated.

This indefinite use of *sexten* occurs, moreover, with absolute certainty in at least four passages in the contemporary translation of Holberg's biographical letters; see the ed. by Winsness og Thomas, Aschehoug, 1923. Talking of books, the author remarks: "og ikke alene skriver dem men skriver dem 16 gange ud igien og giver dem nye titler og selger dem paanye" (II. p. 76). Further on: "ingen Ting har jeg saa stor Afskye for, som det slags Folk, der ikke kan tale 4 Ord, uden der skal være 16 Parentheses imellem . . ." (p. 129, both from the first epistle, 1727). From the third epistle (c. 1743) I can quote two cases too "De alleene, som ere ödsele, og sætter mere overstyr een Dag end de fortjene i sexten, synes at have bedre Rett til at lee" (p. 188) and (*ib.*, p. 202): "Dette lægges vel de Engelske til Last, at de læser deres Prædikener op af Papiiret, men derved er den Nytte

¹ See for other cases of Holberg—influence on Ibsen, a forthcoming paper by the present writer in *EDDA* (1924, II): "Sproglige Beröringspunkter mellem Holberg og Ibsen."

at deres Prædikener hænger sammen og at man ikke faar een Ting at høre 16 Gange."

This is in any case sufficient to prove that Holberg himself was familiar with the expression. Whether we may also conclude that this was the case with others, depends upon the view we take about the authorship of the 1745-version. It will be remembered that it has been attributed to Holberg himself by Dr. K. Mortensen (see the *Holberg-Aarbog*, 1922, p. 40, ff.). It lies outside my present aim, of course, to investigate this matter here; those who side with Dr. Mortensen will no doubt look upon what I have here pointed out as grist to their mill.

It is interesting to observe that the Latin original does not in any case present us with the exact counterpart of our sixteen, *sedecim*,² and that sixteen renders *iterum* in the first instance (while it is rendered by *alter igjen* in the Bergen-translation of 1741,³ whereas it was added in our second, third and fourth cases⁴).

It is not known what the origin of this usage may be and it will therefore surely not be thought supererogatory to investigate the question, which does not seem to have been asked before, where Holberg got this form, even if the present writer should not be able to answer it fully,—not even to his own satisfaction.

The fact is that I have not been able to find a single instance in any source of information at my disposal of the use of this apparently so essentially definite numeral in anything approaching the indefinite use which comes so clearly to the fore here. An application to the Edd. of the *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*

² The one case in classical Latin where—according to some commentator. at least—the word *sedecim* is thus used, is Plautus' *Rudens* (ed. Waltzing, l. 1422). But this interpretation is apparently much controverted. I have to thank my esteemed colleague Paul Faider for this reference.

³ I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Det Deichmannske Bibliotek's most obliging librarian, Mr. Arne Arnesen, for this and one or two other references.

⁴ The Latin text uses continually *sexcenti* (—*ds*, —*a*) in this indefinite sense. Remarkably enough, this is translated by *utallige* in the first case, *mangfoldige* in the 1741-Bergen-text, by *600* in the 1745-text (ed. 1923, p. 75) and by *100 mennesker* (*ib.*, p. 129).

yielded a negative result and I cannot point to any similar use of this particular numeral in any other language either. Nothing appears to be found in such a storehouse of learning as Grimm's *Rechtsalterthümer* or the "big" dictionaries such as Grimm for German, the *N. E. D.*, Kalkar for the older periods of Danish,⁵ or van Dale for Dutch,—the big "*De Vries en te Winkel*" has, of course, not come so far yet, nor have the *Svenska Akad. Ordbok*, the *Bremer Wörterbuch*, etc.

But if there does not seem to be any parallel of precisely this particular numeral as an indefinite one,—parallels in the much wider sense of a definite numeral used indefinitely are not far to seek.

You know, sometimes he walks four hours together,
Here in the lobby . . .

it is said of Hamlet (II, 2, 160) and the commentators, struck by the apparent peculiarity that Hamlet should be supposed to be walking about for such a long time and one specified without any apparent reason at that, are generally inclined to adopt Hanmer's conjecture: "for hours together." In a most instructive note by Karl Elze it will, however, be found pointed out (*Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1880, I, p. 87) that *four* as well as *forty* and *forty-thousand* are very frequently used to denote an indefinite number—in English as well as in other languages. Elze quotes also a number of cases where "the halves of these numbers from four upwards" are used in the same indefinite sense: *two*, *twenty*, *twenty-thousand*, quoting besides: "*two and twenty*" etc. etc. See also *ib.*, II, p. 202. From a comparison of a most important passage in Grimm's *Rechtsalterthümer*, pp. 211 ff. to which Elze refers,

⁵ Unless the "16 Nævninger" mentioned there in the Supplement, col. 894., should on investigation prove to be a case in point: "om den student som blev slagen ihjel . . . om der ikke bör at tages 16 mænd derpaa (1598)." The case, if as doubtful as the following quotation, (være frj for at udtags til vurderingsmænd, sandemænd eller sexten mænd næfn) would at all events point to a jury composed of 16 men instead of the twelve we know now. This may of course contain a hint concerning the origin of the pregnant use of 16. The original legal meaning having vanished, the Holbergian usage might be supposed to be the result.

it is quite plain that the numbers quoted above as well as the numerous other examples found in Grimm II. all go back to ancient legal usage, but as Elze remarks, all these legal and local associations have long since disappeared, as possibly in the case of the quotations from Kalkar, see *supra*. It may be worth while to add that the author of the 1745-text uses both *four* and *fourteen* in an apparently equally certain, indefinite sense,—see the second quotation from the biographical letters for *four* (tale 4 Ord) and compare what follows immediately in our third quotation, where it is said of these very same persons that “de lever godt i een dag og sulter derfor i 14.”⁶

Another parallel that may be quoted is the colloquial French use of *trente-six*: “je le lui ai dit bien *trente-six* fois.” Littré does not mention this use, it may however be interesting to remark in this connection that one quotation at least he gives in *v. trente*, may very well, on investigation of the context, prove to be a case in point: “Vous auriez pu à bon marché, c’est à dire avec *trente larmes*, vous faire passer auprès de moi, pour l’homme du monde le plus passionné,” (*Sév. à Ménage*, 1, 370 éd. Regnier).

The question of the origin of this usage practically remains unanswered,—I have nothing of any importance to suggest in this respect,—the hint in footnote 5 will hardly prove to deserve this qualification. All I may have hoped to attain is to have called attention to the fact that there *is* a problem here, the solution of which others may be led to discover. I will, however, in conclusion point to one more possibility. Grimm repeatedly lays stress on the fact that some of these (originally pregnant) numbers must be explained by doubling of another, *fourteen* being, e.g., the double of *seven*, which was a magic number of importance. Thus *sixteen* might be simply the doubling of *eight*, which in its turn owes its meaning to a doubling of *four*, or is

⁶ In *Det Arabiske Pulver* Holberg uses curiously enough, *seventeen* equally indefinitely: “han recommanderede sig *syften* Gange udi min gode Affection” (sc. 14, ed. Martensen, VIII, p. 44 = sc. 12, ed. Roos, I, p. 373, and others), where the editors vouchsafe no note. The German translation of 1743 and the Dutch rendering of this latter of 1747 (in both the passage is in scene the 18th) keep this: *siebensehen mal*, p. 34, and *zeventien maal*, p. 37.

explained (e.g., by Grimm) as the "simple addition" of a unit to the magic *seven*. But I am afraid that on consideration the two processes here qualified as "simple" will not prove quite so easy to explain as that "simple" qualification would seem to suggest. I should, however, not omit to mention that the very passage from which we started, contains a most interesting illustration of this process of doubling which may after all be at the bottom of our mystery. From the "16 gange og 16 gange til" it would indeed have been but one step to speak of thirty-two times.

Latin on the other hand will most certainly not help us. Considering that *sedecim*, if found at all in this indefinite sense, is exceedingly rare, as we have seen, we have no reason to look in that direction for its origin. It should, moreover, be noted here that Holberg, who himself uses *sexcenti* so very frequently in this sense, clearly goes out of the way for *sedecim*, whereas he uses its Danish counterpart,—well, something like "16 Gange, ja 16 Gange til."

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Ghent, Belgium, 5 Nov. 1924

REVIEWS

THE LANGUAGE OF THE KONUNGS SKUGGSJÁ (SPECULUM REGALE), According to the Chief Manuscript, A.M. 243 Ba, Folio, 1923. By Professor George T. Flom. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, *Part II. Pronouns, Numerals, and Particles, The Verbs and Their Conjugations*. Pp. 159-323. Price \$1.50.

Following out the same general plan as in *Part I*, Professor Flom has in *Part II* given a full account of the orthography, form and usage of all the parts of speech under discussion, which occur in this manuscript of the O. N. *Konungs Skuggsjá*.

Both the orthographical peculiarities and the forms are recorded in detail and fully discussed; in fact, the book is a marvel of industry. One of the chief merits of the work consists in the fact that the author always proceeds from the statistical evidence which he has recorded; there is no fantastic speculation. His conclusions are, therefore, most trustworthy. Also the usefulness of the work is greatly enhanced by his furnishing a bibliography upon the more important questions under discussion.

All in all, the book is a monumental work of its kind and may be regarded as a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of O.N. paleography as well as a very helpful aid to our study of the Scandinavian dialects.

While recognizing the valuable results with which the author has furnished us in this book, I cannot help feeling that the work can be improved in certain details and especially in the matter of presentation. In the latter regard the author's chief fault seems to be a lack of clarity; his inaccurate use of English, for one thing, often renders his exposition unnecessarily hard reading. In the matter of composition there is, of course, a certain latitude granted every writer, and this I grant to Professor Flom. It may, for instance, be a matter of personal taste whether one objects to the following: "in respect of" (p. 159, 15 lines from top) for *in respect to*; "go" (frequently used, cf. p. 161, 2 lines from top) for *are inflected*; "occurs at" (very frequently used, cf. p. 173 middle) for *occurs* without preposition; "of-course" with hyphen (used throughout the work, cf. p. 159, 3 lines from bottom); also "un-umlauted" with hyphen (p. 295 middle, why not use the English term "unmodified"?); "illy" adv. for *ill* translating *at illu* (p. 195), etc. But as to clarity there can certainly be no divided opinion. In this work there are certain passages which, taken exactly as they are written, seem either unintelligible or unclear, or do not express that which the author evidently meant to say. Such passages will be included in the following criticism.

Besides a lack of clarity I have noted certain statements (especially regarding O.N. phonology) to which one may well take exception. Therefore I have thought it proper to discuss such statements (even though they do not affect the author's conclusions) together with certain minor points which seem to me to warrant discussion.

P. 170 under *Postpositive Article*: "However, the dat. pl. -om is found only in *heiminóm*, 35a19; otherwise numerous times -um, written out, as *strænginum* . . . , *kirkindurunum*, . . . , or abbreviated -u, as *holmanum*, . . . , *heiminum*, . . ."

Since the ending -um is written out in these last two words, it is difficult to see how this ending is here abbreviated to -u. The author informs be by letter that in the manuscript these words are written with the abbreviated ending, i.e., *holmanu*, *heiminu*; which obviates the difficulty.

Farther down on this same page (170) the forms *slicr*, *þvilicr*, *sami* and *stiafr* are listed under the same rubrik as the *postpositive article*. Why?

Regarding these forms we are told that they are "as in ON in general, declined like adjectives." This note seems to me unnecessary, since the words in question are formally adjectives and no one would expect them to be declined in any other way than as adjectives.

P. 170 under *Relative Pronouns* we are told that the relative particle *er* "may stand alone" and as an example of such a usage the author adds among others: *Einn lítell maðkr er maurr heiter*.

What is meant by a relative "standing alone"? This phrase "stand alone" as applied to a simple relative is incomprehensible to me. The author's idea as expressed in this phrase is not made any clearer by his alternative statement, i.e., "may stand alone . . . , or with the demonstrative as antecedent." Does a simple relative (*er*) "stand alone" when its antecedent is a noun but not "alone" when its antecedent is a demonstrative? I fail to see how the term "stand alone" can apply to a simple relative or how the nature of a relative differs according to the nature of its antecedent.

Directly following this passage the author says: "More often, however, the particle is preceded by some demonstrative (*sa*, *su*, *þat* . . .), and then the demonstrative and the particle both follow the noun that is the antecedent, or it may follow a noun which is modified by a demonstrative; that is the demonstrative may have prepositive or postpositive place."

The phrase "or it may follow a noun which is modified by a demonstrative" is misleading. What the author means here is: "Or it (the relative particle *er*) may follow a noun preceded by a demonstrative." But whether the demonstrative precedes or follows the antecedent, it modifies the same; the modification (i.e., grammatical agreement between the demonstrative and the antecedent) is in no way affected by the word order.

The author's exposition of this question is unclear and too involved; it was a long time before the meaning became clear to me. Why not simply say: "More often, however, the particle is preceded by some demonstrative which may either precede or follow the antecedent which it modifies"?

P. 171 the author discusses the usage of the interrogative *hvat* as a compound relative: "Observe that *hvat*=*þat er*, 'what,' 'that which' ". To this statement he adds a foot note giving the Modern Norwegian equivalents for this usage of O.N. *hvat*.

In view of the scientific nature of the work such digressions into the field of elementary grammar seem to me out of place. There are several instances of this pedagogical attitude thruout the work.

P. 172 under the discussion of the *relative*: "There is no example of *en* as relative. (The occurrence of *er* for *en* once may be noted: *Nu skal guðe unna umfram hvalvatna er ráðaz guð hvært sinne er maðr girnis rangra lula*, 2b2)."

Since it is the relative here under discussion, one might infer that the particle *en* for which *er* stands in this sentence (above quoted) is the relative particle. Such cannot, of course, be the case because the relative particle *er* can never stand for the relative particle *en*; the *en* in question must be the adverbial *en*. Self-evident as this may seem to the author, it is at first glance not so obvious to the reader. Besides, the passage contains two occurrences of the particle *er*. To which one of these does the author have reference? One has to study the passage to find out. I translate as follows: "Now one shall love God above all things *but* (*er=en*) fear God every time that (*er*) one desires evil things." It would have minimized the reader's efforts if the author had omitted the last part of the passage where there is no substitution of *er* for *en*, and if he had stated the meaning of the particle *en* (i.e., *en*='but' adv.) for which *er* stands. A translation of the passage would then not have seemed necessary, as it does under the existing circumstances.

The two occurrences of the particle *er* under discussion in the above passage raises in my mind the question as to whether it might not have been of assistance to the reader if each word under discussion in any given passage had been printed in black-face type or underscored—the quoted passages are in italics—. The advantage of this device is apparent especially when in a given passage the same word occurs twice but in either a different sense or a different usage.

P. 172 under the discussion of the defective interrogative pronoun *hvat*: "As for ON otherwise, there is no distinct fem. form, nor pl. form, and it is, therefore, indeclinable in such uses as the following: . . ."

The phrase "as for ON otherwise" is misleading, inasmuch as the expression "as for" may be construed as a double preposition = 'as regards,' 'with regard to.' The preposition "for," as the author uses it, is evidently meant to be understood as connected with the noun "form" used later on; i.e., "form for ON."

I interpret the passage to mean: "Just as elsewhere *in* O.N., there is no distinct fem. form, nor pl. form, for *hvat*, etc."

This is only one of several instances where the author seems to be so bound up in his subject that he fails to appreciate the reader's position; a serious fault in a scientific work. The reader should not be embarrassed by equivocal language, however well versed in the subject he is expected to be.

Various minor defects in composition likewise embarrass the reader; as a conspicuous example I add the following. P. 173 (beginning third paragraph): "The pronoun for 'which,' in reference to two, *hvarr* (Goth. *hvaðar*,¹ ON *hvaðarr*, early and rare. See Egilsson), is found mostly in the neuter form *hvart* . . ."

When I first read this passage I thought that the word "rare" ended a sentence (incompleted) and that a new sentence began with "See Egilsson)" with parentheses misplaced. The matter is easily remedied by placing a comma

¹ Misprint for *hvaðar*.

(instead of a period) after "rare" and then by writing "See" with a small s and closing up the intervening space.

To return to more important matters. P. 176 under the discussion of *pronouns*: "The noun *maðr* 'man' is sometimes used very much in the same way, corresponding to Eng. 'one,' 'a man,' 'a person,' 'people,' 'they,' Norw. 'en,' 'man,' 'folk'."

The phrase "very much in the same way" is not clear to me. Are there degrees of pronominal usage? I see absolutely no difference in usage between the pronominal *maðr* and any other indefinite pronoun which Professor Flom discusses here, such as *sumr* or *einr*. If an adjective or a noun is used pronominally I fail to see how they are used "very much in the same way." They are used *exactly* in the same way, i.e., pronominally. The reader will also note the author's digression into the field of pedagogy; for the parallel usage of *maðr* in English and in Norwegian 5 examples are given for English and 3 for Norwegian. Were any examples needed at all?

P. 193 in discussing the meaning of the adverbial phrase *þess amillum* Professor Flom cites one instance (*millum þess*, 43b20) where the demonstrative *þess* is not felt in an adverbial sense but in its original sense as a demonstrative. He says: "In this case we have merely the demonstrative 'that' governed by the preposition 'between that' (i.e., 'between the times of violent storms'). The first two occs. are more purely adverbial."

There are no words 'that' and 'between that' in the manuscript. Why not substitute the actual words under discussion, viz., *þess* and *millum*? Besides, if we were to translate the O.N. words, *millum* does not mean 'between that' but simply 'between.' How can 'between that' be a preposition? Again, if a word is used in a "purely adverbial" sense, it cannot be *more so*, as the author implies. Why not say: "In the first two occs. the demonstrative pronoun *þess* shows a closer approach to the purely adverbial usage?"

In footnote 46 (p. 204) Professor Flom discusses the adverbial ending Prim. Scand. -ð; "OLG. *snimo*, Sw. dial. *snimma* (but different in WGmc.; OHG. *snimo*, OE. *sneome*, *snioe*, OLG. *sniumi*. So Goth. *sniumundo*)."

The phrase "but different WGmc." is too indefinite. Since it is the adverbial ending -ð under discussion, one might infer that the word "different" applies to this ending. Why not say: "but with different radical vowel WGmc.; etc.?"

The first form quoted "OLG. *snimo*" is evidently a misprint. There is no such OLG. form and furthermore, the author has listed the OLG. twice. I suspect that for the OLG. form first listed (i.e., *snimo*) should stand ON. *snemma* (*snimma*). The second OLG. form (i.e., *sniumi*), listed under WGmc., is also wrong; it should be *sniumo* (*sliumo*). The OE. forms should read *sneome*, *snioe* with accent denoting the diphthong.

P. 222 under *ner* the corresponding Gothic form is given as "*nēlreis*" instead of *nēlris*.

In footnote 77 (p. 225) the author refers to the vowel *a*- in *amillum*, *amillim*, etc. as a *suffix* instead of a *prefix*: "The vowel of the suffix seems in ONorw. to be prevailing -a."

In footnote 79 (p. 226) with reference to the plural forms of the noun *soc*: "The consonant is usually *c*, the vowel is commonly *-e* in the *i*-stem form, hence rarely: *sakir*, . . ."

After the word "vowel" should be inserted the phrase "of the plural ending." There are *two* vowels in the plural forms of this word.

Under *mot* (p. 233) Professor Flom says: "It is apparent that . . . the regular preposition in the language of the time is *moti*, and that *mot* is a growing form."

What is "a growing form"? Evidently the author here means to say that the form *mot* is *increasing in frequency*.

Under *um* (p. 234) in discussing the usage of this preposition in such phrases as *um haustum*, *um sumrum*, etc. the author says: "The thought is on the fact spoken of as being always true of, or applicable to, the season named; . . ."

This statement is so unclear and involved that a most careful study is required to unravel its meaning. I suspect most readers will be nonplussed at the phrase "The thought is on the fact spoken of."

P. 240 under the discussion of the form *eð* as a by-form of *eða*: "It would seem that the form *eð* in the two passages in *KS* is an actual one, that is so intended."

What is an "actual" form, one *actually occurring* in the ms. or one *actually intended*? The term "actual" is here used in too loose a sense. Why not say: "It would seem that the form *eð* in the two passages in *KS* is an *intentional* one?"

Under the discussion of the *voices* of O.N. verbs (p. 246): "Old Norse verbs have two voices: the active and the medio-passive. Formally there is, however, only one, for the historically passive inflexional forms no longer exist."

"The historically passive inflexional forms" were, however, *medio-passive* and not *purely* passive, as the author implies. Furthermore, is it certain that of this voice there is no trace left in ON? How about *heiti(e)*, 'I am called,' 'I call myself'?

P. 247 the author defines the category of *reduplicative* verbs in O.N. as follows: "Reduplicative verbs which do not originally exhibit gradation of the stem vowel but form the preterite by reduplication of the prefix . . ."

Whether *all* so-called reduplicative verbs in O.N. originally (i.e., in Primitive Norse before the reduplication disappeared) lacked vowel gradation in the preterit is at best a mooted question. The Gothic shows vowel gradation along with reduplication, e.g., in the form *saisð* which can hardly be separated from O.N. *sera*. Very strong evidence to the effect that many so-called reduplicative verbs in North and West Germanic go back to an ablaut variation without reduplication in the preterit is advanced by Francis A. Wood, "The Reduplicating Verbs in Germanic," *Germanic Studies*, II, pp. 27-43, University of Chicago, 1895.

Preceding the list of strong verbs Professor Flom indicates the ablaut series by their representative vowels. There are certain variations of these vowels occurring in the ms. but these have only in part been recorded in the ablaut series. I add here a list of such omissions together with certain other minor defects.

In Series II (p. 249) *u* is listed as a vowel for the past part. but does not occur in the examples; in Series III (p. 251) *e* and *i* are recorded as vowels for the present stem but not *æ*, as in *vallta*, *varða*, etc.; in Series IV (p. 254) *æ* is recorded as a vowel for the present stem but not *o*, as in *koma*, nor *y*, as in *symja*; *o*, *i* and *æ* are recorded as vowels for the past part. but *i* does not occur in the examples and *u* is not recorded, as in *numit*; in Series VI (p. 257) *a* is recorded as a vowel for the present stem but not *ey*, as in *deyja*, nor *æ*, as in *hæfa*; the vowels of the preterit sing. and plur. should be *ó:ó*, not *o:o* (obviously a misprint).

It is a trifle confusing to have the present part. recorded along side of the past part., inasmuch as the present part. belongs to the present system and often contains a radical vowel different from that of the past part.

The verb *rækva* 'grow dark' should not be listed under Series III (p. 251) but under Series V. The form *rækva* is not derived from **rinkvan* but from **rikvan* (cf. Goth. *riq-is*) > **rikkva* > **rekkva* > *rǫkkva*.

The verb *vera* 'be' should not be listed under Series IV (p. 254) but under Series V; cf. Goth. *visan*, *was:wesum*,—, O.N. (earlier forms) *vesa*, *vas:vdrum*, *verit*.

Under *Reduplicative Verbs* (p. 259, 5 lines from bottom) the verb *sa* is mentioned as representing Series VI of the ablaut series; but this verb is not recorded in the author's list of reduplicative verbs.

To return to matters not affecting the author's material. P. 253 Professor Flom gives the meanings of the verb *varða*, 'come about,' 'come to pass' and 'be advisable,' 'be necessary,' 'have to (under the stress of the situation)'; and then adds: "Cf. the English 'have to' 'come to that' or without have."

This phrase "without have" is incomprehensible to me. The word *have* is not written with single quotation marks, but even if the author had here intended to use the quotation marks, to what "have" could he possibly have reference?

Under *Weak Verbs* I find no meaning given for *fretta*, *frætta* (p. 262), nor for *viðlænnda* (p. 268). The meaning of the verb *bruna* (p. 280) is given as 'brown color' instead of 'color brown,' or 'give a brown color to,' etc.

The omission of the period after "do" given as the meaning for *andsvara* (p. 284) is unfortunate. The word "do" stands for *do*. (=ditto) and refers to the meaning "answer" given directly above for *svara*.

In discussing the *third weak conjugation* (p. 280) the author says: "The pres. 1 sg. ends in -a, and the vowel is retained in the pret. and pprtc."

From this statement one might infer that the vowel -a in the pret. and pprtc. was the pres. 1 sg. ending. For the phrase "ends in -a" should be substituted "ends in the radical vowel -a."

In discussing the O.N. *preterit-present verbs* (p. 293) Professor Flom says: "The preterite-present tense form is therefore that of strong verbs; the pprtc. is that of the fourth class of weak vbs."

¹ Misprint for 'have to,' single quotation mark before *have*.

The latter statement is only partly correct. To be sure, the longer past part. forms in *-aðr* are due to analogy with the fourth class of weak verbs (cf. *vit-aðr* with *dug-at*) but there is no reason for assuming this in the case of the shorter past part. forms in *-t* (i.e., *þurf-t*, *dt-t*, etc. after the model of *horf-t*, *skort-*, etc.). The forms in *-t* are phonetically correct, the direct inheritance of P.G. conditions where the dental suffix was added directly to the stem without intervening vowel (i.e., the preterit-presents were originally "bindevokallöse" verbs); cf. O.N. *þurf-t* with Goth. *þaúrft-t*.

On the same page (293 near bottom) the author speaks of the *-ss-* in *vissa* as "early assimilation of *-st-* to *-ss-*" and in a foot note (139) explains the term "early" as referring to Indo-European conditions. For his authority regarding this explanation he refers to *AnG. I*, §310 (i.e., Noreen's *An. Gramm.*, §310).

In the first place, it is at best a mooted question whether there was an intermediate stage *-st-* between I.E. *-t-* and P. G. *-ss-*. Kluge (*Urgerm.*, p. 78, §62,b) asserts categorically: "Eine Mittelstufe *st* ist ausgeschlossen." At any rate, if we assume such an intermediate stage (i.e., *-st-*) it should be assigned to the earliest stages of P. G. (i.e., *Proto-Germanic*) rather than to I.E.

Furthermore, Noreen in his *Aisl. Gramm.*,² §310 (which I take to be the reference indicated by Professor Flom) says nothing about any I.E. assimilation nor does he mention any stage *-st-* intermediate between *-t-* and *-ss-*. He says: "*T, d, ð, þ + s* oder *t* treten als *ss*, nach oder vor kons. sowie nach langem vok. als *s* auf." Noreen has entitled this rubrik as "Spuren indoeuropäischer lautgesetze," which is somewhat misleading. The correct title is given by Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarb.*,² §193), viz., "Konsonantischer Lautwechsel aus urgermanischer Zeit."

In discussing the *present participle* (p. 301) in the phrase "er iamnan hans sæmð livannde" the author says: "But *livannde* is here hardly verbal at all; *er-livannde* = not 'is living' but *er iamnan livannda* = '(his honor) remains always a living force.'"

The phrase "hardly verbal at all" is objectionable as applied to a participle, for every participle is verbal and therefore cannot be "hardly verbal." In the case under discussion the verbal force of the participle *livannde* is subordinate to its adjectival-substantive force.

P. 307 (6 lines from top) in discussing the medio-passive forms *synim* (*ec*) and (*vit*) *finnim* the author says: "In these two forms the earlier sg. and plur. forms are changed around."

The word "around," as here used, is inaccurate. For "changed around" should be substituted "interchanged."

P. 315 (bottom) Lat. *creatur*, instead of *creabatur*, is given as the equivalent of Norw. *blev skapt*.

P. 316 (near bottom) in discussing the *past participle in the passive construction* Professor Flom says regarding the phrase *er aðr hafðe verið hartakinn þráll* (no reference is given for this passage): "But here the pprtc. is adjectival."

One might infer from this statement that where the past part. was a part of the passive verb the past part. was *not adjectival*, cf. "at domar skyldu vera

upp *sagðer*," 132a26, quoted by the author just above. What the author means is that the past part. *hertakin* does not agree with the subject but with the predicate nominative *þrall*. His reference is not only misleading but also entirely unnecessary in view of the fact that it is the compound passive voice (not the past part. alone) which is under discussion.

Minor misprints (such as, e.g., the misuse of double for single quotation marks, the omission of periods, wrong alignment, etc.) are fairly frequent throughout the book; some of these have already been noted in my text. I shall here confine myself to the more disturbing cases. They are as follows: *It* (p. 175, near bottom) for *It* without ital.; *paralleled* (foot note 48, p. 208) for *paralleled*; *advisable* (twice p. 214, 7 lines from bottom) for *advisable*; *ovknep* (p. 218, 3 lines from top) for *lovknep*; *na(h)-*, OE *neah* (p. 222 bottom) for *nāh-*, OE. *nēah*; Germ. *nah*, LG. *na* (p. 223 top) for Germ. *nāh*, LG. *nā*; *sogn* (foot note 78, p. 225) for *Sogn*; *alsa* (p. 233 under *amoti*) for *also*; *elliptically* (p. 233 under *mot*) for *elliptically*; the phrase *in the transferred sense of* (p. 248 bottom) should not be in ital.; *fourh* (p. 261, 12 lines from bottom) for *fourth*; *Feroese* (p. 289 bottom) for *Faroese*; *liva* (p. 291, by-form of *lifa*) should be in black-face type, not Roman; *the other occurrences* (p. 296, 12 lines from bottom) for *the total occurrences*; *endind* (p. 308, 9 lines from top) for *ending*; *noticeably* (p. 308, 19 lines from top) for *noticeably*; in the Bibliography (p. 322) the date for Iversen's *Norrøn Gr.* should be given as 1923 instead of 1823 and under Schwartz read *och* for *ock* in the title "Om oblika Kasus ock Prepositioner, etc."

The author has also requested the following changes: delete b8 under *mot* (p. 233) and *bioða*, 147a15 (p. 296, 12 lines from bottom).

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NORWEGIAN FAIRY TALES. From the collection of Asbjørnsen and Moe. Translated by Helen and John Gade. 14+247 pp. Illustrated. The American-Scandinavian Foundation. New York. 1924.

This volume is the 24th in the Scandinavian Classics. A survey of the titles of the preceding volumes shows a pleasing variety. The committee on publications has given the American reader a glimpse of widely different periods of Scandinavian literature. Various types of literary work have been presented, both prose and poetry; masterpieces of the novel and of the drama as well as gems of lyric poetry are all to be found in the Scandinavian Classics.

Scandinavian literature is very rich in fairy tales, and it is highly fitting that a volume of such tales should appear in the Classics. Asbjørnsen and Moe found these stories among the peasantry. To a very large number of the peasants the moor and the forest were inhabited by wild, fantastic beings. To quote from the excellent Introduction, "The number of legendary creatures in Norse folk-lore is truly astonishing. To the nymphs, brownies, kelpies, goblins, giants, mermen, and mermaids, we may add other sprites living in the mountains, behind waterfalls, under treacherous waves, and in the mystery of the sighing forests. Many of these ancient superstitions have come down to our

day, and it is not long since people believed that a child which disappeared in the woods had been enticed away by the *hulder* or hill-people, and that when any one was lost at sea the *draug* had taken him."

The collection has been divided into five groups: 1) animal stories, 2) tales of fisherfolk, 3) medieval legends, 4) fairy tales, and 5) miscellaneous stories. It is a collection that will interest both young and old, but it is particularly fascinating to children.

The translators have rendered these tales into good idiomatic English and at the same time preserved the spirit of the original.

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BAYARD TAYLOR'S INTEREST IN THE
SCANDINAVIAN NORTH

In November, 1846, the *Democratic Review* printed an anonymous poem bearing the title "The Norseman's Ride." Whittier liked it and copied it into *The National Era*, prefacing the poem with a commendation. This approval by a writer of recognized merit gave the author courage to reveal his identity in a letter of September 16, 1847:

I was surprised and delighted a few weeks ago to see in the *National Era*, in connection with a notice of old northern mythology, a poem of mine, "The Norseman's Ride," which was published last winter in the *Democratic Review*. I am an enthusiastic admirer of the stirring Scandinavian sagas, some of which Tegnér has immortalized in his "Frithiof"; and it was under the full influence of the spirit inspired by them that the poem was written. I was *possessed* by the subject and fancied I had given it fitting expression, but the friends to whom I showed it did not admire it¹

This letter was signed by Bayard Taylor.

"The Norseman's Ride"—the first one of the writer's poetic efforts to receive favorable public attention—is a poem of beauty and originality, deserving Whittier's approval; but the chief importance of its publication lies in its subject and the light it throws on the early interests of the author. It shows that at the age of twenty-one, or earlier, Taylor—the centennial of whose birth we are celebrating this year—was thoroughly imbued with the Northern spirit such as he found it personified in the Old Norse sagas and idealised in Tegnér's famous production. He began to yearn for a personal acquaintance with the Scandinavian countries, and on January 23, 1848, wrote to Mary Agnew:

I spent last evening with [Nathaniel Parker] Willis, and mentioned in the course of the conversation my idea of the Swedish trip. He discouraged it, and perhaps with reason; but I shall do nothing rashly²

¹ Albert H. Smyth, *Bayard Taylor*, p. 53.

² *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, edited by Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, Boston, 1884. I, p. 112. Taylor's plan was first of all to visit Sweden to study the language and literature of that country.

Yet the idea of the Scandinavian tour would not leave him. In February of the following year he longed not only for the twilight of Italy and the shadow of Oriental palms, but also for the "clear snow-peaks and sounding forests of Norway."³ His yearning for the North had become so intense and dominating that he anxiously asked his sweetheart if she did not share the same longing. "It is with me," Taylor exclaims, "an unfailing source of joy and the wildest poetic enthusiasm."⁴

Taylor's profound interest in Tegnér's *Frithiofs Saga* continued unabated. On June 27, 1849, he communicated the following news to Mary Agnew:

I met to-day with a translation of the rare and glorious *Frithiofs Saga*, which I have sent thee by mail. It is a jewel of a book. Reading it, and the history of the Northern nations, thou wilt reach the very heart of old Norse tradition and song. I am much mistaken if thou art not as much charmed by it as I was. It is a book hard to find, and I only picked it up accidentally.⁵

Editors of the Taylor letters have already pointed out one reason for his interest in the North—his dual nature, which is so obvious in his travelogues. The occasional allusions to Sweden and Norway in Bayard Taylor's correspondence at this time are a hint of the two currents of feeling which met in his nature. He was fascinated by the mysterious North, and he had a tropical imagination which was constantly looking wistfully toward the summer climes. He was dreaming of a journey to Scandinavia when the summons came to visit California, and it is hard to say in which direction he would have turned with the greater readiness.⁶

Taylor's enthusiasm for the North already went far beyond the intangible interest in something novel and unknown. It was a deep, genuine feeling. Even the excitement of the California gold rush could not, for example, wholly draw his attention from Tegnér's "Frithiof," and while in Monterey, California,

³ See Letter of Feb. 3, 1849.

⁴ *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, p. 142.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 153. Taylor probably received his first knowledge of *Frithiofs Saga* from Longfellow's article on and extracts from the work in the *North American Review*, 1837, and possibly from some German translation. Later, as we shall see, he learned to read it in the original.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 154.

in September, 1849, he wondered whether his affianced bride "wert pleased" with the poem.⁷ We shall return to this work later.

In the autumn of 1850 Bayard Taylor was, in a slightly unforeseen manner, introduced to a new phase of Scandinavian talent and culture—Jenny Lind, and her art. Hard pressed by his creditors, Taylor had innocently but seriously competed for the two-hundred-dollar prize offered by the enterprising P. T. Barnum for words to a song that might be sung by the Swedish singer. Taylor won the prize for his "Welcome to America"; the words were set to music by Jules Benedict; and the song was sung by Miss Lind at her first concert in Castle Garden.

The more immediate consequences of Taylor's success are now well known. It turned the American Parnassus into a veritable madhouse; indignation among the disappointed competitors—and there seems to have been 752 of them—ran wild; newspaper offices were swamped with "better" poems of every conceivable genre; Taylor was dubbed "Barnum's Poet Laureate"; and received within a week a publicity that transcended anything in history. Knowing that Taylor's only inspiration had been the hope of capturing the two hundred dollars, the prize song was literally and savagely torn to pieces, line by line, and critics rested their case only after having assailed the author's character. Taylor had, to be sure, one creditor less by the experience, but he regretted the necessity of his participation and felt "a bitter sense of degradation" in having "defiled," as he professed, "the temple of divine Poetry."⁸

Yet, the "delightful flaying . . . at the hands of every six-penny critic in the country" had been largely offset by the

⁷ *Idem*, p. 158.

⁸ Biographers treat of the Jenny Lind prize poem episode at considerable length. Cf. Letters by Taylor: to Fields of Sept. 17, 1850; to Mary Agnew of Sept. 18, 1850; and to George H. Boker of Sept. 19. On Nov. 19, 1850, also, Taylor writes to R. H. Stoddard: "Did you see the Brooklyn announcement of my lecture? ('Bayard Taylor the successful competitor for the Jenny Lind prize!') It is simply infernal. Is that damned song to be the only thing which will save my name from oblivion? Stoddard, I wonder that we poets are not Bedlamites in reality; mankind must certainly think us fools. Well, we have this

fact that Jenny Lind herself had chosen Taylor's words, when the Committee of Award had been unable to make the final choice between the two surviving poems. Miss Lind had declared that since Taylor's contribution was the better adapted for the occasion, and was the more suitable for music, she would sing no other. Taylor then attended her first concert, and like others was enraptured by her song and personality. He had already called on her and found her "one of the most charmingly natural and unaffected women" he had ever met, "very frank and cordial, and as simple and innocent as a Swedish peasant girl." A few months later—on June 5, 1851—he wrote from New York to his friend George H. Boker:

I have been fortunate in frequently seeing Jenny Lind and her friends during their stay here. She is the only great, unquestioned genius in woman's form I have ever known, and the more I see her the more I reverence her truth, her purity, her faith in art as the crown and glory of our nature. You should see her face when she speaks of these things. And with all this, she is more truly feminine than the whole horde of our spiritual, inner-lived, and sweet-sympathy-craving women writers. If you have not already imagined that Jenny Lind was all this, think of it when you next hear her sing.⁹

The inspiring meetings with Jenny Lind must, to some degree at least, have increased the young American's admiration and longing for the Northern lands, their people, and their culture.

In March, 1850, at Mrs. Kirland's in New York, Taylor made the acquaintance, also, of Fredrika Bremer, who listened with rapture to his tales of California; but there seems to be no record of the impressions made by the Swedish spinster and novelist upon the "handsome Yankee traveler."¹⁰

In September, 1855, we find the poet and journalist in Newfoundland. But while he is there he is constantly, in his

advantage; we believe no more than we choose of what men tell us of ourselves, while men believe everything that we tell them of themselves." *Life and Letters*, p. 192.

The original printing of Taylor's prize poem is now an exceedingly rare item, and "the unfortunate lyric" was not included in Taylor's later collections of poetry.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 214.

¹⁰ Cf. *Homes of the New World*, by Fredrika Bremer, under date of March 15, 1850.

letters to the New York *Tribune*, comparing what he sees with what he expected to see when he once landed in Norway. "The shadow of the Norseman seemed to accompany him, and point at one object or another as native to Scandinavia."¹¹ Again, after great hardships and suffering while filling some lecture engagements in the Middle West during the winter of 1855-1856, he writes to his mother from Ann Arbor that after the recent experiences he is not afraid of Norway.

The following winter Taylor's dream of visiting the Scandinavian countries became a reality. It was the realization, says Taylor, "of a long-cherished desire, the sense of novelty, the opportunity for contrasting extremes; and the interest with which the people inspired me far outweighed all inconveniences and privations."¹² Altogether he traveled some twenty-two hundred miles in the Scandinavian peninsula, of which five hundred were within the Arctic Circle, and about half of this distance was traveled in a pulka behind a reindeer. Natives could not believe his contention that his tour was a pleasure-trip, and although Taylor did not care to repeat his experiences in the *extreme* North, he obviously enjoyed his trip as a whole far more than some Taylor biographers would have us believe. It was something more than a "feat performed," and the account of his observations, published in book form in 1858 under the title *Northern Travel*, was something considerably more than a record of low temperatures. It was an unusually severe winter that greeted Bayard Taylor in Scandinavia, but it was not much colder there than what he had already experienced in the north-central part of our own country; he endured the cold better than he had anticipated; "there was life in the cold air; and" says the traveler, "I did not ask for summer."¹³ The further North he got—and he was traveling along the eastern part of Sweden—the better he liked the country and the people. In the city of Gefle, where sunrise melted into sunset, nothing was strange in that dying light, he confessed, except his own ignorance of Swedish. Everywhere he met specimens of manhood and womanhood which did not even "suspect the existence of a

¹¹ *Life and Letters*, as per op. cit., p. 307.

¹² *Northern Travel*, edition of 1882, p. 193.

¹³ *Idem*, p. 19.

nervous system." Health, simplicity, honesty, freedom of manners, and primitive, natural impulses appealed to the American. No milksops in the North! The people were "clear-eyed and rosy as the morning, straight and strong as the fir-saplings in their forests."¹⁴ In the Arctic Circle he met a cheerful blonde, active and good-hearted, whose teeth would have made her fortune in America, Taylor exclaims—an unsophisticated damsel the like of whom he much preferred to "any delicate Cinderella of the ball-room." Taylor found no great riches among the people; but neither did he find any destitution—there were no beggars. The latent kindness and good will of the Swedes might at first be overlooked, he pointed out, and their occasional sublime indifference could easily be understood from the environment.

If anything, Taylor, who during the first part of his Scandinavian tour was eminently ignorant of things Northern, found the Scandinavians much *too* civilized. In Lapland, where "man seemed to have settled just to spite nature," he found cleanliness, kindness, and hospitality. "Why, Lapland was a very Sybaris in comparison with what I had expected."¹⁵ In the northernmost Swedish city of Haparanda he found the same comfort as in an American country inn; Bordeaux wine seemed plentiful in the most remote places; and in Kantokeino, Lapland—to Taylor's supreme astonishment—he was greeted—in a parsonage, 'tis true—by the tune of Yankee Doodle on a real piano. As for the Lapps themselves, in Taylor's opinion, they had lost much of their romance in their conversion to Christianity: they had substituted for a natural superstition the rant and coarse mysticism of the Christian religion. Taylor was a Rousseauian, and, for him, interest and picturesqueness had in large measure disappeared with our modern form of civilization.

Northern Travel, as we might expect, gives us some superb descriptions of Scandinavian nature, descriptions by a practised hand which reveal more inspiration and feeling than could be motivated by a so-much-per-line journalism. Farthest north

¹⁴ *Idem*, p. 54.

¹⁵ *Idem*, p. 100.

it was "terribly sublime and desolate," and Taylor "enjoyed it amazingly."¹⁶

The delicate purple sprays of the birch, coated with ice, glittered like wands of topaz and amethyst, and the slopes of virgin snow, stretching toward the sun, shone with the finest saffron gleams. There is nothing equal to this in the South—nothing so transcendently rich, dazzling, and glorious. Italian dawns and twilights cannot surpass those we saw every day.¹⁷

Later he reiterates: "Nothing in Italy, nothing in the Tropics, equals the magnificence of the Polar skies."¹⁸ In this "Paradise of snowy linen" there was "poetry beyond all the Sagas and Eddas that were ever written."¹⁹ The experience of one long Arctic night was sufficient for him, yet it was while riding behind a reindeer over the northern plains that Taylor felt the true romance of the boreal regions. Here was a wildness of beauty and a dazzling confusion that defied the power of pen or pencil. Miracles never ceased and Taylor never exhausted his admiration for All-Father's Paradise. Here were "fountains, candelabra, Gothic pinnacles, tufts of plumes, colossal sprays of coral, and the embodiments of the fairy pencillings of frost on window panes wrought in crystal and silver."²⁰

Taylor had learned enough Swedish on the way north to ask for common necessities in the native tongue. Upon his return to Stockholm, in February, 1857, he took up the systematic study of the Swedish language and literature, and, for the sake of his own health, of Swedish gymnastics. He seems to have kept diligently at work, by himself, without meeting many prominent Swedes in the capital, but he made excellent progress in his chosen task. He found Swedish easy to read, but at first difficult to speak. Ultimately he learned to speak Swedish fluently and learned a large portion of *Frithiofs Saga* by heart. H. H. Boyesen was fond of relating how once upon an occasion when Boyesen's own memory failed him, Bayard Taylor had resumed the narrative of the *Saga* in the original, where Boyesen left off, and had continued with it for several verses.²¹

¹⁶ *Idem*, p. 60.

¹⁷ *Idem*, p. 53.

¹⁸ *Idem*, p. 81.

¹⁹ *Idem*, p. 117.

²⁰ *Idem*, p. 178.

²¹ Cf. *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, op. cit., II, pp. 556-557.

Taylor was much impressed by the natural scenery about Stockholm, comparing it to Constantinople; and was very enthusiastic about the Ling system of gymnastics, which he hoped could be introduced everywhere. Taylor's own health improved much while in Stockholm; he had never felt more cheerful, at least for six years, he asserts; the benefits of the gymnasium training were "admirable"; and he could finally climb a smooth pole thirty feet high and run up a rope with his hands. He left Stockholm on May 6th; made a hurried trip to Germany and England; stayed in Denmark long enough to meet H. C. Andersen and the archæologist Rafn—who introduced him to the study of Icelandic—and to acquire "an imperfect" knowledge of Danish; took a carriage trip through the fjelds, dales, and fjords of Norway; then crossed the border into Tegnér's native province of Värmland; proceeded on foot through Värmland and Dalecarlia; and returned to Stockholm in the middle of September, 1857.

Taylor was, of course, much impressed by the natural scenery in Norway—he believed Riukan Foss to be the most beautiful cataract in the world;—but his experiences with the Norwegians were not so pleasant. He did not find the cleanliness among them that he had found in Sweden; he was severely criticized for referring, innocently, to the *Icelandic* language, when he should have said *Old Norse*; and the American felt that the glorification of *Gamle Norge* was carried to ridiculous extremes. Besides, the Norwegians had in Taylor's opinion already been taught the art of imposition by English tourists. With Americans, says Taylor, the Norwegians had two traits in common: a rampant patriotism and love of gain. By comparison, therefore, Taylor praised the Swedes more than they deserved perhaps, and ascribed to them the honesty, warmth, and geniality of character that he did not find elsewhere. He believed the Norwegians jealous of their neighbors. However, Taylor soon decided to localize a pastoral poem in Norway, and by 1875, when *Picturesque Europe*, edited by Taylor, began to appear, he seems to have modified his opinion. Most of the sixty pages of Vol. III which are devoted to Scandinavia are awarded to Norway, and here its people are treated more generously. The editor speaks now of the "general manliness

and independence of the people," "the exceptionally small amount of social inequality, and the rare snobbish insolence on one side or flunkeyish subservience on the other. This is one of the delights of Norway. Its social atmosphere has a moral freshness that is as bracing to the mind of the tourist, who is making his escape from oppressive conventionalities, as the air of its fjelds and fjords is to his lungs, and brain, and body."

Taylor's *Northern Travel* served within its scope to advertise the Scandinavian countries to better advantage than most or all of its predecessors had done. Through its frankness and forceful, compelling style it punctured many a bubble of false ideas about the North in Anglo-Saxon territories. It was because of the alluring descriptions of Scandinavian scenery in this book that Lord Tennyson, according to the testimony of the Duke of Argyll, decided to visit the northern peninsula.²²

In the meantime Bayard Taylor had enthused more than ever over *Frithiofs Saga*. In Norway and Sweden he had recognized the scenery of this romantic epic, and tramping through Värmland he had become thoroughly familiar with the scenes that had impressed the young Tegnér. Now Taylor could understand the effects of the nature-surroundings upon the boy's fancy. There were the "cold streams," the "lovely pastoral scenery," the "superb birch-trees with their giant boles and drooping willowy boughs; its [Värmland's] iron forges and foundries, dark forests of fir, rock of granite and porphyry, glens of primeval wilderness, and hills with sea-like glimpses of the Wetter-lake"²³

After a few years Taylor decided to edit an American edition of Tegnér's masterpiece. Several English translations of it had already been made, but copies of them appear to have been astonishingly scarce in America. So Taylor, who now had a complete mastery of Swedish, set about to study the different translations, comparing them with the original, with the view of choosing for his purpose one already made. He discovered that R. G. Latham had taken too many liberties with the original; that the translation by Professor George Stephens had been conscientious and laborious but that it lacked the free, plastic

²² Albert H. Smyth, *Bayard Taylor*, p. 98.

²³ Cf. *Introduction to Frithiofs Saga*, ed. by Taylor, 1867, p. vii.

movement of Tegnér's verse; and so he unhesitatingly selected the rendering by the Rev. William Lewery Blackley, M. A. (1857; second ed., 1862) as distinctly superior. Even Blackley's translation was sometimes tame and commonplace, but except for the substitution of masculine for feminine rhymes and disregarding the law of alliteration in Canto XXI, he had adhered closely to the original. Taylor regretted that a real poet, like Longfellow, had not made a complete translation, even though, as he realizes, no English or other foreign version could ever satisfy the Swedish reader. But Taylor did the best he could with the material at his disposal, carried out his plan in full, and became, in 1867, the editor of the first complete American edition of *Frithiofs Saga*.

Taylor's work consisted mainly in prefacing the translation with a twenty-page introduction, in which he gives a brief account of the history of modern Swedish literature, and Tegnér's place in it, describes the character of the Swedish language, compares the Old Norse original with Tegnér's modernized version, and aims to show how the Swedish poet and his Frithiof are representatives of their country and race. Taylor's biography of Tegnér, though borrowed from other sources of course, is reproduced with an original touch such as perhaps only Taylor could have done. He is not a profound scholar, but he has made a conscientious search for the true, essential facts. If he is uncertain about a fact or report, he says so; and if he guesses he seems to have the happy faculty, based on both intuition and intellect, of guessing correctly in the great majority of cases. His choice of personal, intimate touches in Tegnér's life, also, are popular yet discriminatory and illuminating, as, for instance, the reference to Tegnér's dog, Atis, the one faithful pupil who never failed to attend his master's lectures in Greek.

As for Tegnér's production, Taylor found it in accord with the spirit of the original saga, in spite of numerous liberties taken. Frithiof, though modernised, is of pure Norse blood. Whatever had been added to him was from kindred sources of *Voluspo* and *Havamal*; hence the work is consistent, and the Swedish author was right in adding to the hero "that grave, semi-melancholy quality which sets the songs of the land to the

minor key, which softens but never clouds the blue eyes of the people, which ever seems to breathe upon you from the shade of its forests and the dark, forbidding loneliness of its mountain-glens."²⁴ This is Scandinavian nature. "No poetical work of modern times," declares the editor, "stands forth so prominently and peculiarly a representative of the literature of a race and language as the *Frithiof Saga*." It is the first Swedish literary work

in consonance with the character of the Swedish people; and with those qualities which distinguish its language from other cognate languages. Purely Scandinavian in its spirit, its scenery, its legendary element, and only indebted to antique culture for a part of its rhythmical form, it combines the freshness of the early Saga with very high artistic finish and proportion. It appeals at once to the national pride, and the simple human sentiment of the farmer or herdsman, and to the taste of the scholar.²⁵

"The lines of *Frithiof* cling to one's memory like those of Byron," Taylor continues, and Tegnér's popularity as a poet is based on three outstanding qualities of his poems; exquisite melody; brilliant antithetic passages; and perfect purity and clearness of language. His *Saga* illustrates, in the editor's mind, the resonant strength of the Swedish tongue, a tongue which possesses the simplicity and lyrical quality of the English, but which is richer in feminine rhymes and in terse idiomatic expressions that can not easily be transferred. Tegnér's gifts, as exemplified in the work mentioned, though not of the highest, according to Taylor, are nevertheless of a "very high and rare quality. They illustrate the finest characteristic of his language and race, and cannot perish while either exists." Says Taylor also: "We cannot claim for Tegnér the place which belongs to a great creative intellect. His genius was essentially lyrical."

About 1868 Taylor turned his Scandinavian interests to something more ambitious and creative. On October 6, 1872, in Gotha, he confides in a letter to Edmund Clarence Stedman:

... I cannot help writing a little every evening on a poem which has been haunting me for at least six years. It is an idyllic story, in blank verse, wholly mine own conception. I have written about two hundred lines, and

²⁴ *Introduction*, p. xiii.

²⁵ *Idem*, p. v.

don't see how I can finish under two thousand. When I am further on I'll tell you more about it,—now, I dare not.²⁶

On October 28, he writes to the publisher James Randall Osgood:

Since I wrote to you, three or four weeks ago, I have so worked myself into the new poem that I can't stop. The first and second books are finished, and the third (and last) grows daily. It has been maturing in my head for so many years that all the incidents are complete in advance. I write slowly, revise carefully, and shall have little to change when the last line is written. It will make about 2,100 lines, or one hundred and thirty pages like the *Masque*. Have you courage to publish it, say early in March? As a narrative poem, with a touching and quite original story, the scene of which is partly in Norway and partly in Delaware, it ought to attract ten readers for one of the *Masque* Long before I hear from you the poem will be finished, and ready to send. The title is "Lars." Book I is laid in Norway, Book II on the Delaware, and Book III in Norway again. Strange as it may seem, the story is not only highly moral, but religious!!! Yet there is no purposed moralizing; all is action, talk, description²⁷

Taylor tells Osgood not to mention the matter except to Howells, Aldrich, Fields, and Longfellow, and if Whittier should drop in, he might be permitted to share the secret. Substantially the same facts as those given to Osgood are related in a separate letter of the same date, to Thomas Bailey Aldrich, with the additional emphasis that the subject-matter of *Lars* simply *would come out*, and forced the author to give it expression. On November 24, 1872, in a letter to A. R. Macdonough, we obtain further reiterative information about the genesis of the poem, which now is completed:

. . . . This fall I have cleared my brain of one poetic disturbance. I have written a semi-idyllic, semi-dramatic poem For years the conception has been haunting me, but postponed; held off, because there was no fitting time or mood. It returned upon my indolence this summer, would take no denial, forced me to begin; and when one begins, you know, one is securely caught. Well, the thing is done. . . . The poem is (for me) very simple and unrhetical. I like it for its unlikeness to all my other poetry. Whether it will be especially liked by others I can't tell, nor do I trouble myself with speculations thereupon. . . . It has given me a little more ground [for expecting public favor]. . . . My "Lars," which has been a great delight, and leaves a singular feeling

²⁶ *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, II, p. 597.

²⁷ *Idem*, p. 598.

of relief behind it, will force another small portion of the resisting public to yield."²⁸

On December 16, 1872, Taylor communicates again with J. R. Osgood:

. . . . I am more than ever anxious to have 'Lars' published early in March, say the 8th or 10th. Congress will then have adjourned, and after a year of debauch, the public stomach, it seems to me, will be ready for the mild magnesia or seltzer of such a poem as "Lars." When you have the entire MS in your hands, light a cigar on the first rainy Sunday morning that comes, sit down, and read the whole poem. I am neither surprised nor mortified if you have little faith in my poetry, but I must ask you to try once more. If this venture does not have at least a moderate success, I shall hereafter publish my poems as a private luxury. You need not begin with more than two thousand copies. The story will surely justify that number to begin with."²⁹

A week later Taylor notifies Stedman that the poem is finished and continues:

The title is *Lars*—only that, and nothing more. The story is wholly my own invention, and seemeth unto me entirely original. I think the poem will interest you in one sense: the characters are all objectively drawn. The Norwegian scenes ought to interest many readers; but I do not dare anticipate any special popularity for the poem.³⁰

To John G. Whittier—to whom *Lars* was dedicated—Taylor writes at length on Dec. 30, 1872:

I have brought Quaker peace and Berserker rage into conflict, and given triumph to the former. The one bit of fact out of which the poem grew is the circumstance that there is—or at least was—a small community of Friends at Arendal in Norway. The absence of color, music, and external graces makes the Quaker a difficult subject for poetry, unless the latter touches only his spiritual side, which I have endeavored to do. I depend upon my Norwegian characters for whatever external picturesqueness seems to be necessary. I feel sure that there are some things in the poem which you will like, and I hope there may be nothing in it to make the dedication unwelcome. I am not ashamed to say that I cried over many passages while writing. If you should be able to read *Lars* within a month after getting this, I should be glad to hear what impression it makes upon the one who was most in my mind as I wrote.³¹

²⁸ *Idem*, pp. 603-604. The *Masque* had forced the first portion of the public to acknowledge the author favorably.

²⁹ *Idem*, pp. 607-609.

³⁰ *Idem*, p. 609.

³¹ Pp. 611-12.

Neither Aldrich nor Osgood approved of the title of Taylor's poem and advised substituting some other name. In the first place it was too brief, they argued, and to most readers of English it was unintelligible, a contention which was soon proved when critics noticed the announcement of the poem. One thought it stolen from Macauley (*Lars Porsena*); another surmised that Taylor had bungled in his Latin, and that it should have been *Lares*. The question of publishing it anonymously came too late. But Taylor, in a letter to both, dated at Lausanne, Switzerland, on January 26, 1873, pens an energetic and interesting defense of his pet title:

As for the title, I assert that no title can be "fatal" to a good poem; and I think "Lars" rather better than average titles. It is brief, strong, Scandinavian, and therefore picturesque, has never been used, and it is the only name which can be applied to the whole poem. [I don't want anything that suggests] "Brita's Lovers" à la "Sylvia's Lovers." No, No! non o' that! "Lars" is a great deal better than *Enoch Arden*. The fact is, fancy titles have been run into the ground; a good work will always make its own title popular.²²

Thus did an American writer champion a Scandinavian name more than half a century ago! Taylor insisted that "Lars" was as good if not better than names of well-known idyllic poems like *Luise*, excepting perhaps *Evangeline* and *Hermann und Dorothea*. If the poem was successful the name would become popular, and Taylor believed that objections were mere personal dislikes for the sound of the word. However, a few days later Taylor enlarged the title to *Lars: A Pastoral of Norway*, and announced his change to Osgood:

Lars: A Pastoral of Norway. Does not that make the publishing side of your heart thrill? Think of Björnstjerne Bjørnson and the Norwegian idyls!—by the bye, I won't say *idyl*, because of Tennyson. "Pastoral" is the word; it is more grassy, clovery, and homelike. I can understand that multitudes would not know whether *Lars* was a name, a chemical substance, or a plant; but the sub-title ought to be explanatory and attractive at the same time. I shall send it to Strahan & Co. [English publishers] at once, and you may announce it on enormous yellow posters.

When I see you, you will regale me with broiled oysters for this concession, or cod's tongue, a dish I have found only in Boston. May we then be able to drink to the 150th thousand of *Lars: A Pastoral of Norway*.²³

²² *Idem*, pp. 615-616.

²³ P. 617.

In the beginning of March, 1873, the work was published both in England and America, as originally planned,—the Boston edition appearing in a neat little volume on good paper and in good print—and the expectant author, to whom *Lars* had become an object of special solicitation and love, anxiously awaited results. On Nov. 22, 1873, in a letter to John B. Phillips, we have a definite report of its reception:

. . . Out of a dozen intimate literary friends in New York and Boston, only three have sent me a word of congratulation about *Lars*. . . . And now comes the report from Strahan, the London publisher. *Lars* is the first poem of mine ever published in England, and I hoped for some impartial recognition there. Well, the sale is just one hundred and eight copies!³⁴

Some Quakers liked it, however, for obvious reasons,—at least certain parts of it—though they could not fully understand Taylor's contrasts, extremes, and technique. One, Hannah M. Darlington, thought it was "horrible." So, in an answer to the latter, dated Dec. 29, 1873, the author calmly but resolutely offers an explanation:

I'm glad that *Lars* is finding favor among the *Friends*. I know that it is not strictly true to their observances, but that makes not the slightest difference. The more correct it is, in that respect, the less poetic it becomes. The discipline of the Friends is antagonistic to all poetry. I have used the only poetic element they possess,—the direction of the Spirit. The 'plan of approach' of which you speak as being contrary to their ways is chosen because it is dramatic and true in a general sense. So, if the story is 'horrible,' as you think, can you not feel that the two extremes are absolutely necessary? If *Lars* had not been so violent a nature, the triumph of the peace-principle would be greatly lessened, the story would become weak and tame, and the final impression might be lost altogether. What success I have achieved lies exactly in overcoming brute passion in its fiercest forms by a moral courage so strong that it prohibits the suspicion of physical cowardice. . . . You must not, therefore, judge *Lars* from the standpoint of the rules and regulations of the Friends. . . .³⁵

The excuse for reproducing the above extracts from the rather lengthy history of the development and success of *Lars*, aside from the glimpses they throw on the character of the pastoral, and apart from the intrinsic merits of the poem, is the importance of *Lars* in the history of Scandinavian-American cultural relations. Its position is unique, both chronologically

³⁴ P. 631.

³⁵ Pp. 638-9.

and otherwise. It is a production, written over fifty years ago, by an author of national and international prominence, which links America and Scandinavia. The scenery and background are a direct reflection of first-hand observations in Norway and Taylor's admiration for the Northern race. It is, in part, autobiographical, which helps to explain the author's fondness for and personal interest in the book. The action is localized not only in Norway, whose "sheltered vale and ever-winding fjord" had made such an impression on Taylor despite the sobering magnitude of his traveling experiences in other lands, but in the vicinity of his own home in eastern Pennsylvania. In fact, Part II is localized in the neighborhood of Kennett Square, and Kennett Square is in Chester County, formerly called Upland County, the district which was originally settled and named by the Delaware Swedes. Here was an additional opportunity for some poetic connection between the land of the Quakers, Taylor being born a Quaker, and the Northern countries across the sea. Consequently, in the form of an epic element, we have the Delaware pioneers introduced into the narrative of *Lars* (Part II), yea *Kalmar Nyckel* itself, for Leif, the maternal grandsire of the hero, had crossed the seas as a trooper with Johan Printz on "The Key of old Calmår." And this, so far as the present writer has been able to determine, is the first if not the only instance in American literature where a noted American poet pays tribute to the Delaware settlers and their descendants. To make the personal bond still closer Taylor introduces into the story the name of his own maternal ancestor, Mendelhall.

Here, then, was a mixture of Norwegian, Old Norse—for even Norse mythology is introduced,—Swedish, and American elements, all melted in Taylor's poetic crucible into a very readable unity. That the religious revival which once took place in Arendal forms a part of the historical foundation has already been noted. When the modern Viking, Thorsten, becomes "Friend Thurston" it symbolizes the moral and poetic motif of the whole poem. And what a profusion of Christian names strange to most Americans of 1873: *Lars, Per, Brita, Nils, Björn, Olof, Harald, Anders, and Gustaf!* Verily, there is small doubt about the pioneer character of this

pastoral. Never before had Scandinavians appeared in such large numbers at one time in American literature! The very names created a novel atmosphere amid the descriptions of "windy fells," of "bleak, tremendous hills, where winter sits, and sees the summer born in valleys deeper than yon cloud is high," of "ocean-arrows that gleam and foam so far within the bosom of the land," a land of firs, wild crests, and "sprinkled skerries." And apropos of the Swedish settlement of Delaware, the trooper Leif of New Sweden voices the author's conviction, or courtesy, when he exclaims that "pity 'twas the strong Norse blood could not have stocked it all," meaning by "it" presumably the population of the whole land.

Lars is a composite of nature realism and moral idealism. Both possess exquisite beauty in the poem, but the former has a truer and more convincing appeal. The latter occasionally seems weak, forced, and mechanical. The sentiment in certain passages strikes a Scandinavian as naive and effeminate. To portray the victory of Quaker peace and brotherhood over brute force, Viking rage, feuds, and blood-revenge, forms a laudable theme for a *prédilection d'artiste*; but the reader can hardly feel so convinced about the shame, guilt, and consequential need of moral and religious regeneration of *Lars* such as we find in Taylor's pastoral. We cannot help wondering whether Taylor himself was fully convinced of his hero's sins. When *Lars* sends his first rival, in Norway (Part I), to his death, it is only after he has reluctantly accepted—lest he be forever called a coward—a duly extended challenge. He is victorious in a mortal combat which according to the unwritten laws of the land is legal and justified. And, under the circumstances depicted, we feel that these laws—against which the central *motif* of the poem is directed—are in themselves justifiable. The author has created so much sympathy for the hero that we have none whatever for his adversary, though he loses both his sweetheart and life. We do not feel *Lars*'s need for reform either as an individual or as a victim type of tradition and circumstances. We are not even sure that the traditional custom should be changed. Whether a "primal savage" or not we feel that *Lars* is justified in his conduct. Similarly, in America (Part II), while his Norse blood needed tempering maybe, *Lars* is driven to desperation and

near-tragedy by such provoking taunts that no self-respecting, red-blooded lover would ever hesitate for an instant to take measures that might speed his tormentor on to Kingdom Come. Says the rival Abner Cloud to Lars: "Say, hast thou ever eaten human flesh?" Here the poet of course has overstrained his powers and weakened his argument.

Nevertheless, strange things happen. Many a hardened criminal has become a preacher of love and peace, and we may *imagine* our hero as feeling the need of repentance and forgiveness. Hence the possibility of the calming, beneficent influence of the Quakeress Ruth. And we do know that both ancient and modern vikings have experienced the same spiritual awakening and need of betterment that Lars did, hence the *poetic* plausibility of the author's argument. After all, the Scandinavian always has been and always will be keenly susceptible to religious emotions and movements.

The plot of the poem is briefly as follows: Lars, in love with Brita, engages successfully in mortal combat with his rival—following an old Norwegian custom—and unwillingly slays him. Unable to marry Brita, and fearing the consequences of his deed, he escapes to America, where he is saved from committing a similar act by the tact and love of Ruth, whom he marries. He returns (Part III) to Norway with his wife; disarms the would-be avenger of his first misdeed by refusing at the crucial moment to use physical arms against him, defenselessly exposing his naked bosom to the adversary's drawn knife; and becomes then the central human instrument for the regeneration of the neighboring country. The last vestige of viking brutality disappears with the passing of the family blood feud, and Brita spends the remainder of her life with Lars and his Quaker bride. The didacticism of the narrative is enhanced by compelling common-sense expressions and by philosophical and aphoristic sayings that force themselves upon the reader's mind and memory.

At least one critic, Albert H. Smyth, reports highly complimentary things about Taylor's *Lars*. Firstly, Smyth himself thinks the title becoming. But more than that: *Lars* is "so severely simple," he avers, "so perfectly proportional, and so well within the author's powers, that it realized his ideal and

won a place in critical esteem beside *Evangeline*, and the best of Tennyson's corresponding verse.³⁶ By linking the ancient pagan fury of the Norseman with the gentle speech and customs of the pastoral country of Pennsylvania, Taylor creates a work which realizes his typical conception of a poem.

The year after the publication of *Lars*, i.e., in 1774, Taylor visited Iceland to report the Milennial celebration of the settlement of Iceland for the New York *Tribune*. He wrote a dozen long, comprehensive letters about the island, which were republished the same year in *Egypt and Iceland*, and made that distant land better known to the American public. He did not find the capital as filthy as some other travelers had described it; he enjoyed his excursions into the interior of the island; he liked the Icelandic people; and was agreeably astonished at the education of the natives. In Reykjavik he met the scholars, clergymen, and journalists of the island, and Taylor appears to have had a sufficient knowledge of modern Icelandic to appreciate the Milennial proceedings in the Reykjavik Cathedral. He found the Icelandic language particularly well adapted to music and poetry, and translated one of the native festive poems of the occasion into English.³⁷

While in Iceland Taylor had met a young lad of seventeen, who discussed Byron and Shakespeare with him in German and English, and who displayed, besides, such a knowledge of Latin that it proved embarrassing to his American friend. The result of this impression was the publication, in 1875, of *The Story of Jon of Iceland*, an illustrated tale for children, in *St. Nicholas* magazine, which gave a description of Icelandic life, dress, sod-roofed dwellings, and bleak landscapes. It is the story of a poor but intelligent shepherd's boy who while taking his sheep off to new pastures becomes the guide and saves the life of a lost English traveler. The hero marvels at the sight of an orange, in the hand of his foreign friend, but through home instruction and that of his pastor he can speak more correct Latin than his Oxford-bred guest. Jon Sigurdson gets a purse of shining silver

³⁶ Bayard Taylor, p. 235.

³⁷ Cf. "Skald" Taylor's Visit to Iceland, by the present writer, in the *American-Scandinavian Review*, November, 1924.

rixdollars, a trip to Scotland, and becomes eventually a teacher in his own capital.

We know, then—by way of summary—that Bayard Taylor took an active interest in the Scandinavian North and its culture from early life up to his death. He had at first been attracted to them by the sagas, and especially in their modernised spirit and form such as he found them in Tegnér's famous idealisation. He obtained first-hand information about all the Scandinavian lands, including Iceland and Lapland. He gained a speaking knowledge of Swedish, a fair acquaintance with Danish, and a reading knowledge of modern Icelandic. He had valid, authoritative personal reasons for recommending the Ling system of gymnastics to the whole world. Though Taylor seems to have ignored the plastic arts of Scandinavia, he was the enthusiastic admirer of Jenny Lind and her music, and frequently visited the singer. He was the editor of the first complete American edition of *Frithiofs Saga*, in the introduction of which it appears that he knew something about the history of Swedish literature in general. He immortalized Norwegian scenery, Viking blood, and Swedish Delaware settlements in *Lars*; and paid a sincere tribute to the poor and lonely but well-educated boys of Iceland in the short story just mentioned. Bayard Taylor occupies a pioneer place in the cultural relations of America and the Scandinavian countries.

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DANISH HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN RECENT TIMES

In the last third of the 19th century many circumstances combined to bring about a period of florescence in Danish historical research. The war of 1864, which resulted in the loss of the Duchies, weakened the influence of the State in foreign politics and brought a considerable portion of the Danish people under foreign rule, was bound to call forth in the sensitive mind a desire to inquire into the causes which had given rise to the disaster, and a craving to elucidate the national position of the Danish people during the past centuries. The political clash between the official and propertied classes of the town population on the one hand, and on the other hand the farmers and small-holders who were marked by a Grundtvigian high school education, simultaneously came to a head in a violent struggle about the constitution. In many ways this acted as a stimulant to the younger generation who devoted their efforts to history. The impressions of the social movements of the time, including the advance of the laboring class, exercised their influence, too, on the conception of the historical development of the people, and induced a keen sensibility to the importance of the popular and social movements. To this was added the influence of contemporary European Positivist philosophy and literature, exerted chiefly through the works of Georg Brandes, and, as regards history, accompanied by a rich and many sided influence especially from German historical research.

About the year 1870 a circle of highly gifted and eager inquirers entered the field of Danish historical research. They differed in many respects in views and mentality, differed, too, in their attitude towards the political and intellectual trend of the time, but they were united in their striving for a more profound study of the past of the Danish people, and they shared the honor of the great results that were gained. In the first place an enormous activity has been displayed in systematically collecting, arranging, and co-ordinating the data of Danish history. By means of excavations, unequalled in extent and

systematic method, pre-historic archæology, under the leadership of Dr. Sofus Müller, creator of the National Museum, has provided unique material for the appreciation of pre-historic conditions. This investigation is conducted on strictly scientific and technical lines but has to a remarkable degree been able to catch the interest of the general public and secure its co-operation. Hardly any pre-historic discovery is made but it is at once reported to the National Museum, the officials of which are thus given an opportunity for technical investigation. At the same time the National Museum has made successful endeavors to examine and measure all medieval churches and ancient monuments of architecture, while other authorities enforce the protection acts for the preservation of all valuable memorials of the past.

Similar work has been done in regard to the sources of recent Danish history. The historians have not contented themselves with the information available in official Danish documents. With remarkable flair they have searched public and private archives and libraries abroad. Danish inquirers have methodically worked their way through the vast series of protocols in the Vatican and there found numerous contributions to Danish medieval history. During the preliminary studies for his account of the history of Denmark during the reigns of Queen Margrethe and King Eric of Pomerania Kr. Erslev has searched the various European archives in which he might hope to find data for the elucidation of his subject, and the same has been done by I. A. Fredericia in his studies on the external political history of Denmark from 1629 to 1645, and by Edv. Holm in his researches on Dano-Norwegian history in the 18th century. In quite recent times Louis Bobé and Aage Friis have paid particular attention to private archives at home and abroad and have provided comprehensive material from the correspondence and documentary remains of private families. The Royal Danish Society of Sciences has further supported the movement by appointing two committees that systematically examine foreign libraries and Danish private archives to ascertain once for all in how far data of Danish history are there preserved. At the same time the keeping of the public records has been re-organized especially by the pioneer work of A. D.

Jørgensen and V. A. Sechers. All records of administration from early and recent times have been collected in the various departments of the Public Record Office and have been made easily accessible to students by the modern principle of provenience.

In the treatment of the sources there has also been great progress. Historical sources had previously been subjected to critical study, in the 18th century by Hans Gram, in the 19th century especially by C. Paludan Møller, but as it has been pertinently remarked, there were isolated instances, due more to the ingenious intuition of the individual researches than to an established elaborated method common to all scientific inquirers. With Kr. Erslev rests the credit of having introduced into Denmark, under the influence of German historical research, the modern critical study of sources, of having developed it into a system of instruction, and made it the foundation of the study of history at the University. He has thus set his mark on all recent research. By means of some short extracts from old medieval chronicles and documents, and from the records of later historians, he taught his pupils how to trace a historical tradition on its long and tortuous way through the centuries and how to divest it of all later additions, taught them, too, the necessity of going back as extensively as possible to contemporary evidence, of estimating the difference in the value of the data, and made them understand that a document in all its paucity may be a more reliable and even fuller testimony than the apparently much more communicative account of some chronicler.

At the same time the publication of historical documents has received an impetus, and growing demands, greater perhaps than in any other country, have been made as regards care in the collection and arrangement of the material, the philological accuracy of the reproduction, and the fullness of the textual and technical commentary. The Association for the Publication of the sources of Danish History, founded in 1877, has especially been the centre of these activities. As some of the most important works we may in the first place mention Kr. Erslev's edition of Danish medieval letters, the "*Repertorium Diplomaticum Medievale*," I. A. Fridericia and Bricka's edition of the letters of Christian IV, and V. A. Sechers edition of old

Danish laws and decrees, the "*Corpus Constitutionum Dania.*" From the most recent times may be mentioned L. Laursen's large edition of the treaties of Denmark, while Aage Friis and Louis Bobé in their editions respectively of the Bernstorff papers and the Reventlow family documents have exemplified how much the correspondence of private people from the 18th century broadens the historical outlook.

Of even greater importance, however, is the utilization of the historical sources, historiography itself. Very much has been done in modern Danish historiography; almost all ages and various aspects of the life of the people have been taken up for renewed historical treatment. It is impossible, within the scope of this article, to mention even a fraction of the important and comprehensive historical works which have seen the light during the last half-century. In the main the results are embodied in the large "*History of Denmark*" in six volumes published at the commencement of the century, the authors of which are the very men who have been the bearers of historical research and the writing of history in Denmark. In the critical sifting of the historical data Kr. Erslev has been the leader. In numerous books and papers he has effectually cleared our ideas about the Danish Middle Ages, showing great originality of conception and lack of respect for traditional views. We may especially mention his works on Queen Margrethe and the Kalmar Union and on Eric of Pomerania. In his voluminous history of Denmark and Norway from the close of the great Northern war till the separation of the countries (1720-1814) Edv. Holm has with great industry and on the basis of hitherto unpublished material given an all-sided account of the period of absolutism in Denmark and an impartial judgment of its men. Johs. Steenstrup's comprehensive learning is shown in a series of studies on the development of the peasantry, and in his large work on the Normans he has given a profound and critical exposition of the great Norse viking cruises to all parts of Europe. I. A. Fridericia, in addition to his work on the foreign policy of Denmark from 1629 to 1645, has, in his book on the last days of the rule of the aristocracy, given a masterly description of Danish history from 1648 to 1660, the period when external disasters, together with unfortunate social and economical conditions, proved the

instability of aristocratic rule, and when many dramatic events led the way to the introduction of absolutism by Frederick III. Finally in a work of many volumes, Troels Lund has with extraordinary art and historical imagination conjured up vivid pictures of daily life in the North during the 16th century, and followed the population through festival and grief from the cradle to the grave. Many other inquirers could be mentioned, such men, e.g., as Marcus Rubin and Niels Neergaard, besides the younger generation who, following in their footsteps and influenced now by one and now by the other, have, each in his special field, added their contribution to the study of Danish history.

In numerous ways the intellectual currents of the time have marked this historical writing. The events in 1864 left a different impression on the minds of the individual writers. Troels Lund and Johs. Steenstrup set themselves the task of emphasizing and adducing historical grounds for their faith in the Danish people, its valuable powers, and its vitality. It was no accident that Johs. Steenstrup chose for his subject the Age of the Vikings, when the Northern peoples extended their sway over Northern and Western Europe. In this connection, however, there is special reason to mention A. D. Jørgensen and Kr. Erslev. Both of these men made it their object to undertake an exhaustive inquiry into the question of right and wrong in the century-old struggle about the Duchies. Both understood that the problem was not of the simplest. A. D. Jørgensen adduced historical proof that, though the conflict between the Danish and the German people in many respects has been a misfortune for the Danish people, it has also brought with it cultural advance, and has acted as a stimulant to Danish intellectual life. Kr. Erslev made a critical investigation of the sources of the constitutional relations between Denmark and the Duchies, and showed that much in the Danish legal-historical view was not tenable. A. D. Jørgensen, especially, by his vigorous activity as a historical writer, by the passion with which he enters into his subject, and by his power of artistic representation, has more than anyone else exercised an influence on Danish historical thought and has, in conjunction with Erslev, smoothed the way for the view which, after the great war, led to the division of Slesvig

according to nationalities. Younger historians have continued their work. Aage Friis, in his broadly planned description of the contribution of the Bernstorff family to Danish history aims at explaining the nature and significance of the old Dano-German whole-state, while Knud Fabricius in his work on the ceding of Skaane to Sweden gives an account of a change of nationality in the 17th century. All these works not only comply with all modern scientific demands but are also sustained by a national impartiality which may be considered as exemplary. Though pervaded with patriotism these works do not show the remotest tendency to flatter the national vanity, gloss over injustice or conceal foreign merit.

Finally, the comprehensiveness of Danish historical writing and its sense of social development must be emphasized. This tendency is connected with the intellectual movements of the time and is due, also, to the peculiarities of Denmark's position. The slight encouragement afforded by the fate of Denmark in external politics has materially diverted attention towards her internal development which offered the greater interest. Her constitutional history reflects that of Europe at large, but is at the same time peculiarly Danish. The peasant question was always of decisive importance to the country and simultaneously furnishes rich contributions to the general development. The great agricultural reforms were carried out more rapidly and more completely than in any other part of Europe. All this made Danish historians, more than any others, turn their attention to internal conditions. The history of Denmark is much less that of kings, generals, and diplomatists, than that of the people and its work. A book like Troels Lund's "Daily Life in the North in the 16th Century" would no doubt be inconceivable outside of Denmark.

Modern Danish historical writing owes its chief characteristics to the generation which was in its prime at the beginning of the century. But a new generation has grown up and carried stores to the building, too. Its contributions cannot as yet match those of its predecessors, but it carries on their work, perpetuating the great traditions it has inherited.

AXEL LINVALD

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REVIEWS

VÅR TID. ÅRSBOK UTGIVEN AV SAMFUNDET DE NIO. Årgång 1-8. 1916-1923. Stockholm: A.-B. Wahlström & Widstrand.

Vår Tid, *Ord och Bild* and *Svensk Tidskrift* are indexes to the intellectual life of Sweden. They are parts of the Swedish national literature, bridges that lead out from Sweden into the cultural life of other lands and bring in the fine flowers of their culture to the country of the North. The best there is in Swedish thought and literature is presented through these mediums, and views of the European mind are here seen through Swedish eyes.

The surveys of contemporary literatures, the essays on the leading writers of many lands, and the translations of poems from foreign tongues, particularly those collected in each volume under the heading: "Från främmande parnasser" by the recently deceased Dr. Göran Björkman are the most important features of VÅR TID. While the several volumes of this yearbook contain many sketches and poems by Verner von Heidenstam, Selma Lagerlöf, Anna Lenah Elgström, Fredrik Vetterlund, Dan Andersson, it is in the essays by Ellen Key, Hans Larsson, Vilhelm Ekelund, Victor Almquist, Torsten Fogelqvist and others, that we find the weightiest contributions to Swedish letters. For in Swedish literature, as in other literatures, the critical, philosophical, familiar essay is forging its way to the front line of belletristic endeavors.

In the volume for 1920 we find a study, by August Brunius, entitled "George Meredith och komediens väsen" from which I quote the following: "Han är en språklig virtuos, som föraktar det alldagliga och långsamt utförda och otåligt springer över hela mellanliggande tankeräcker för att nå de avgörande punkterna; men han är dessutom en filosofisk natur, som ständigt går till botten med de stora livs- och tankeproblemen. Han lever helt med i naturens och samhällets liv och sluter sig visst icke inne i något metafysiskt elfenbenstorn. Men iakttagelsen, stämningen och drömmen äro endast till för honom som vägar till idén. . . . Meredith står icke över sin tid utan är märkt av dess intellektuella brytning mellan gammalt och nytt och dess rorliga hetsiga lynne." Brunius goes on to discuss Meredith's "Essay on Comedy." He mentions Meredith's remark about the scarcity of really good comedies, and says: "Komedin fordrar som underlag ett högt kultiverat samhälle, där uppfattningen är snabb och idéer äro gångbart mynt. Halvbarbariet i nyskapade samhällen och i feberaktigt emotionella perioder stöter bort komedipoeten, och likaså ett tillstånd av brist på social jämlikhet mellan könen. Men även där de yttre villkoren finnas hotas komedien av de mäktiga fiender som Meredith kallar iake-skrattarna och över-skrattarna, de puritanska och backanaliska elementen hos publiken."

Klara Johanson gives in the volume for 1921 a humorous study of a group which she calls "Amerikanska rebeller": John Macy, H. L. Mencken, James Hunecker, Theodor Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg. Of Spoon River Anthology she says that here we have America abridged and Balzac in a nutshell. Here is her view of Carl Sandburg: "Han för ett bedövande larm, han kör bil med förbjuden fart genom språket och orden

yr som skärvor omkring: härom året skulle vi kallat honom expressionist. Hans diktning gör vid första chocken intryck av ett omrört slanglexikon, men vänta, hör efter: här stiger drömkla vision ur brutala glosor och lyrikens eviga själ genomlöper sin lilla krets av eviga stämningar i grotesk men genomskinlig maskering under elektriska månar."

Hans Larsson's essay which opens the volume for 1922, and which he has given the title "Anteckningar," is a study of the nature of poetry from the view point of time and space. "Vilken är visionens ställning till den utförda bilden?" is one of the questions he propounds. "Säkert är att många mer eller mindre lyckade ansatser i våra dagar inom alla arter av konst innerst syfta till att fånga just den ursprungliga synen, vilken alltid tillika innebär ett försök att frigöra sig ur rummets och tidens stränga ordning?" And he closes his reflexions as follows: "Konst är till för att se livet och leva livet, samlat, ordnat, helt. Eller är detta till slut också en dogmatism? Den vill jag i så fall hålla mig till."

A similar idea is presented by Elin Wägner, the author of several novels, in a form close to perfection, where she has shown life in its fullness. She contributes to the volume for 1923 the opening essay entitled "Livet och Dikten." The gist of her theme is expressed in the following: "Diktens problem är strängt taget bara en omformulering av de problem, med vilka varje människa har att göra i sitt arbete och sitt liv. Diktens problem, det är sagt tusen gånger förut, äro inga andra än livets." And further: "Ärlig och lycklig i sina strävanden är författaren endast då han skriver om det som är fullt levande inom honom, det han genomskådat, medlevt, upplevt, det han nätt och jämt överlevt, eller det han icke kan överleva. Det är därför författaren blir så ställd, då kritiken, den privata eller offentliga, rättar honom och säger att han skulle skrivit om något annat, valt andra ämnen. För då finge han ju lov att välja ett annat liv, och det kan han icke."

The surveys of current literature which began in the second volume and since then have appeared regularly in each succeeding volume, are an important and interesting feature of VÅR TID. In pre-war days, both the Nation and the Dial offered during the month of January quite regularly such surveys of literary movements and phenomena of Europe during the preceding year. Due to the war, however, the interest in such matters waned and it does not seem likely that the matter will be taken up again. Under the circumstances the surveys offered in the several volumes of VÅR TID are doubly welcome. They cover, of course, not single years, but whole periods. The articles treating of the French and German literary movements are particularly concerned with the years of the war, while Anton Karlgren's two articles on the literature of Russia go back to the middle of last century. The following list of these articles will show their wide scope and varied character.

1917. *August Brunius*: Nyengelsk dikt.

Klara Johanson: Tysk frihet.

1918. *Arvid Mörne*: Finlands nyare svenska litteratur.

Algot Ruhe: Frankrikes litteratur under krigsåren.

Klara Johanson: Den tyska litteraturens själskris.

August Brunius: Modern engelsk kritik.

1919. *Klara Johanson*: Revolution och litteratur. Tyska tvärsnitt.
Rolf Nordenstreng: Isländsk litteratur i nutiden.
John Landquist: Modern dansk lyrik.
1920. *Olof Rabenius*: En blick på Belgiens franskspråkiga litteratur.
John Landquist: Ny österrikisk diktning.
Anton Karlgren: Den förrevolutionära ryska litteraturen.
1921. *Anton Karlgren*: Den förrevolutionära ryska litteraturen, 2.
Klara Johanson: Amerikanska rebeller.
1922. *Gösta Langensfelt*: Det brittiska imperiets koloniala litteraturer.
1923. *Hannes Sköld*: Moderna bulgariska diktare.
Karl Asplund & Gunnar M. Silverstolpe: Nyare engelsk lyrik.
Kjell Strömberg: Några nya franska författare.

In a testimonial addressed to Tor Hedberg when, in 1922, he was awarded the prize of *Samfundet De Nio*, Ellen Key recalls to his memory the happy days during the eighties, when so many struggling authors made their homes in the building now the headquarters of that academy, and how they used to see, in the courtyard, the figure of a little old woman looking wistfully toward them with the expression often seen in the eyes of the deaf.

This was Lotten von Kræmer, founder of the academy, *Samfundet De Nio*. She was the daughter of Baron Robert von Kræmer, governor of Uppsala län during the time when the University numbered within its distinguished circle men like Geijer, Atterbom, Törneros, when Malla Silverstolpe held her literary salon, when Fredrika Bremer and Adolf Lindblad frequented Geijer's home, when Gunnar Wennerberg wrote and sang *Gluntarne*, and later J. A. Josephson led the musical life of city and university.

Lotten von Kræmer was deeply interested in literature and art, and though herself a daughter of an earlier period, she followed with sympathetic understanding the younger generation which represented Swedish letters during the last decades of her long life. At her death in 1911 she left in her will a large fortune to found a literary academy which should consist of nine members and bear the name *Samfundet De Nio*. The object of the academy was to promote the interest of letters by the awarding of prizes and by the publication of a literary periodical, bearing the title *Vår Tid* and considered as a continuation of the monthly journal *Vår Tid* which Lotten von Kræmer published during the years 1877-1879. The publication was given the form of an annual, thus happily supplementing the monthly *Ord och Bild*.

Lotten von Kræmer's interests were not confined to letters. Two of the social movements of the time, the woman question and the movement toward universal peace, found in her a sympathetic friend and supporter. She wished the publication of the academy to give some space to these two movements, and each volume of *Vår Tid* contains articles on these subjects. The studies devoted to the subject of international peace are particularly timely and significant.

AKSEL G. S. JOSEPHSON

Fairhope, Alabama.

AMERICA OF THE FIFTIES: LETTERS OF FREDRIKA BREMER.

Selected and edited by Adolph B. Benson. 20+344 pp. The American-Scandinavian Foundation. New York. 1924. \$2.00.

This volume is the 23rd in the Scandinavian Classics. The first edition was sold out in short order, and a new edition has just come off the press. It is illustrated by pictures of the authoress and sketches made by her of American authors and of other friends. The second edition is provided with an index. Professor Benson has selected and edited the letters in a very able manner. His introduction gives a helpful survey of the period as well as a biography of Fredrika Bremer, which relates the important events in her career.

If it is ever worth while to see ourselves as others see us, this book deserves close study. Views of America differ widely as seen through different temperaments. No picture is complete, yet some are fuller and truer than others, and Fredrika Bremer's contribution belongs to the former category.

Our authoress looks at things with an open mind. She is willing to learn. She has ideas of her own but is willing to modify her views of life as she is informed by observing new combinations of circumstances. As she travels through this country, she becomes more and more imbued with the wonderful promise it holds forth for future generations.

It is an inspiring experience for the reader to follow the observing writer from one section of our country to another, to be introduced by her to the homes of our sages and poets, to get a glimpse of life in South Carolina and Georgia as well as in New England, to note the beginnings of the great agricultural communities of Minnesota and Wisconsin, and to travel leisurely on the Father of Waters southward, again entering the Southland.

America of the Fifties is an entertaining book of travel, but it is more than that. It gives us fascinating pictures of America of seventy-five years ago, when innumerable steamers were plying on our rivers, when railroad building was developing, and American industries already were realizing some of the wonderful possibilities of the country. Those were the days of our famous authors: Lowell, Washington Irving, Emerson, Longfellow, Hawthorne, and others. Those were the fateful days preceding the Civil War, when a visit at Washington had a special interest. Fredrika Bremer met the literary men of the time and got to know them in their home life. She discussed with the men of state problems of political significance. Her impressions are therefore of the greatest interest and value. She gives us, besides, a view of religious conditions in the north and in the south. She became personally acquainted with Henry Ward Beecher and other famous clergymen of the day. She speaks of the problems of the country and gives pictures of slavery in the south as well as of anti-slavery meetings in the north.

Characteristic of her open mind and her clear vision are the words spoken in the spirit of prophecy. "What a glorious new Scandinavia might not Minnesota become! Here the Swede would find again his clear, romantic lakes, the plains of Scåne rich in corn, and the valleys of Norrland; here the Norwegian would find his rapid rivers, his lofty mountains, for I include the Rocky Mountains and Oregon in the new kingdom. . . . The Danes might here pasture

their flocks and herds, and lay out their farms on richer and less misty coasts than those of Denmark. . . . Yet seriously, Scandinavians who are well off in the Old Country ought not to leave it. But such as are too much contracted at home, and who desire to emigrate, should come to Minnesota." It is to be observed that to Fredrika Bremer Minnesota was synonymous with the West.

One is tempted to quote from her interesting references to the home life and the characteristics of the men and women whose names have gone down in history. It would be hard to understand how it was possible for her to see so much and become acquainted with such a large number of prominent people, did we not know that her work as an author had already made her famous throughout the world and had thus opened the door for her everywhere.

JOSEPH ALEXIS

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A REJOINDER

In the last number of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES, pp. 156-163, the present editor of the Studies publishes a review of *Part II*, of my studies in *The Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá* which contains so many errors of fact and misleading statements, that I feel I cannot disregard it, but must request space for an answer in regard to some of the matters dealt with. The review is so challenging in tone that I am quite at a loss to understand its purpose. I do not wish to enter into any discussion of the things criticised, beyond merely showing the reviewer's error; and I shall be as brief as possible.

The review has first $\frac{1}{4}$ of a page of praise; with these statements I suppose I ought to feel satisfied, although they do not bring out the real significance of the investigations. Then there follows exactly seven pages of criticism of "certain details," "the matter of presentation," "inaccurate use of English," and "the lack of clarity," which he has thought it proper to discuss, "even though they do not affect the author's conclusions." And finally: he wishes to speak of "certain minor points which seem to me to warrant discussion." As he grants it is a matter of taste in the case of points cited on p. 156, I pass over these, and confine myself to the following pages.

P. 157. The reviewer is quoting from my study, p. 170, regarding the ending *-um*, which may also be "abbreviated *-u*, as *holmanum*, *heiminum*." Then he says. "Since *-um* is written out in these last two words, it is difficult to see how this ending is here abbreviated to *-u*." Thereupon he adds that I have informed him by letter that it should have been *holmaná*, *heimmá*; adding "which obviates the difficulty." I should think too, that the information by letter that it was a misprint would have precluded the permissibility of criticising the passage as a wrong statement! It should, of course, have been listed among the misprints.

On the same page he says: "the forms *slicr*, *þoilicr*, *sami*, and *sialfr*, are listed under the same rubrik as the postpositive article. Why?" The reviewer is in error; the demonstrative pronouns named are not listed under the same rubrik, if he will but observe. Rubrik 3, THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS, appears in this way in large capitals; the next rubrik is 4, THE

RELATIVE PRONOUNS. At the end of 3 *slicr*, etc., are set out in italics, just as *sa* on p. 166, *sia*, and *þesse* on p. 167, and *hinn* on p. 168; then under the lass is given the paradigm of the postpositive article, with discussion of it. The four lines the reviewer adds on the declension of the words in question are also unnecessary.

I shall next take an item under the list of misprints which illustrates the same way of doing. On p. 163 he mentions the title of Schwartz's *Om oblika Kasus ock Prepositioner*, where we are told that *ock* should be *och*. The reviewer is in error; the title of the book is as I gave it. If the reviewer wished to bring the form of the title down to date why stop half-way? Professor Schwarz wrote *ock* instead of *och* for 'and,' as well as *ock* for the adverb 'also'; hence on p. 1 of his work we read: *i bñjning ock ordfogning*, line 2, and *ock de olika förhållenden*, line 17, etc. Thus the reviewer has again penned an adverse criticism upon insufficient information; that is a serious fault in scientific work. While I am removing this one from among the list of misprints, I should like to say that the Gothic form given, p. 159, *neveis*, should be listed among the misprints, corrected as the reviewer does to *nevis*; similarly the two other points on the bottom of p. 159, and the matter on p. 169, under *værða*, where the expression should be 'have to come to that'; and under *bruna*, the definition should be 'to color brown.' I am thankful for the corrections of misprints noted on p. 163. To the 17 listed those noted above are to be added. I am glad if the number be not larger considering the masses of details and the great difficulty of getting such a work printed without errors. As to my care in these matters I may refer to the Preface of Part I.

On p. 158, the reviewer quotes me from p. 172 as follows: "There is no example of *en* as a relative. (The occurrence of *er* for *en* once may be noted: *Nu skal guðe unna umfram hvalvatna er væðaz guð hvert sinne er maðr girniz rangra luta*, 2b2)." I am at a loss to see the reason for any trouble here; the statements should be perfectly clear; and yet the reviewer devotes 1/3 of a page to speculations about the meaning, and a correction and finally a translation of it. But surely all this was unnecessary! Writing for those who are students of Old Norse vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, the first sentence simply notes for their information the fact that the *Konungs Skuggsjá* has no case of *en* as a relative. As *en* is met with in ON, not altogether infrequently, as a relative particle (i.e. functionally for *er*), as in the following *tok eg viglysingarvitni þeirra, en sva heita*, DN, XI, 51, it was certainly to the point to add the information I did, and then at once also the bracketed statement. For the latter indicates that the functional confusion between *er* and *en*, exists also here; but in the KS it is not a case of *en* encroaching upon *er*; in KS it is the *er* that usurps the function of *en*, although there is only one occurrence of this. That is the information I have compressed into two lines. But the reviewer says: "Since it is the relative here under discussion,¹ one might infer that the particle *en* for which *er* stands in this sentence (above quoted) is the relative particle. Such cannot, of course, be the case because the relative particle *er* can never stand for the relative particle *en*; the *en* in question must be the adverbial *en*!"

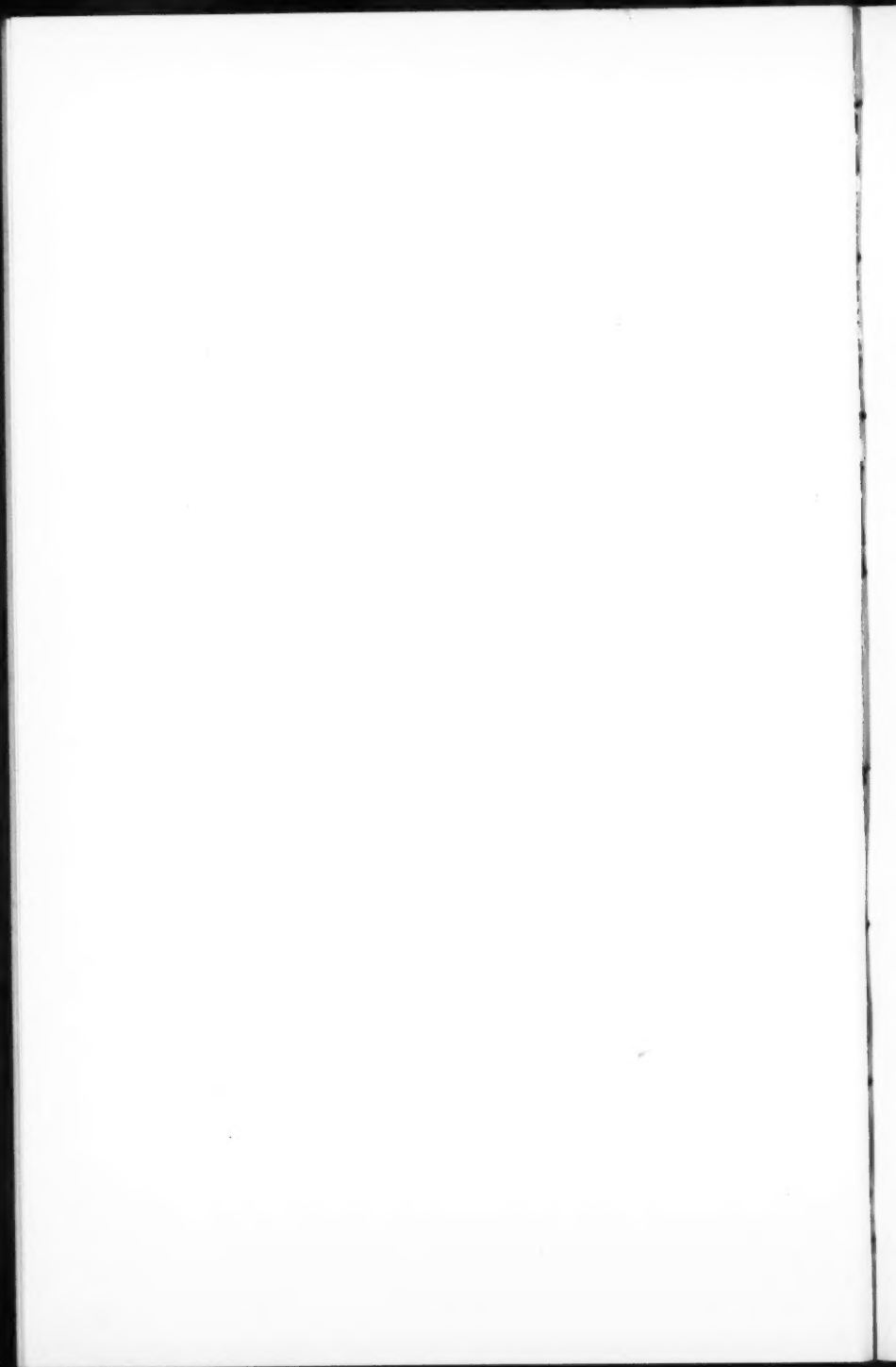
¹ Meant to be, I suppose: Since it is the relative that is here, etc.

Again, p. 157, the reviewer takes exception to my use of the words "may stand alone," in discussing from p. 170 the use of the relative particle *er* without the demonstrative *sa*. He becomes sarcastic on this point and seems to enjoy his sarcasm so much that he cannot resist repeating the matter several times, until there are 26 lines of it. The first sentence in the study, p. 170, is the following; I think the reader will find it quite clear: "As relative pronoun the particle *er* is generally used in KS, and this may stand alone as in the following cases: *Einn litell maðkr er maurr heiter*, 10a24; *þa er þar enn ætt vatn mikit er þeir kalla a sína tungu loghærne*, 28b12; *þetta ero vist astsamðarrað sam af yðr er van oc er þo gott oc nauðnæmlect hvarium er gipta fylgir*, 2b14; or with the demonstrative as antecedent: *Sva sam guðs son lærðe þann er spurðe hvat væri uphaf boðorða*, 2a7; *spýria slícs er þer fyser*, 49a22."

I think this is as clear as can be, though I grant that the two words "as antecedent" might be omitted after "or with the demonstrative." On the bottom of the same page (157) the reviewer discusses a foot-note on p. 171 of the study, in connection with the use of *hvat* in KS as a compound relative (i.e. *-þat er*). It is evident that he has missed entirely the point of the footnote.

Now there are several other places in the review that are equally misleading or unfair in method; but I dislike controversy and I shall not use any more costly space by speaking of them. The reviewer seems to feel, too, that the points dealt with are after all merely minor matters, and I am afraid it was unfortunate for all concerned that he made so much of it. The review is I think unfortunate. Especially, I do not like the absence in it of the sense of fairness to a colleague. He criticises me on p. 156 for using the term "un-umlauted" on p. 295, and yet on p. 162 he himself has this sentence: "the preterit-presents were originally 'bindevokallöse' verbs." He has pointed out three or four instances where I readily grant the wording is not the best; but in other cases he is in error, and what is the purpose of the repeated emphasis upon the point. He should not have assumed to himself the right to criticise in this regard, for there are several cases of lack of "clarity" in the review itself; also he should not have used the words "pedagogical attitude" in connection with the foot note on p. 171. The spirit in which he calls attention to the misprints is not the right one at any time in reviewing a work of such difficulty to print, and especially as there are many misprints in the review. I call attention to the following, p. 156, line 2, *Ba* should be *B*, a; p. 157, "The author informs be by letter," the '*be*' should be '*me*'; p. 158, line 15, *en-* 'but' adv. should be: *en-* 'but,' adv.; in line 6 from bottom "following," should be "following"; p. 159, line 16, from bottom, inexact quotation of the study; p. 162, line 7, "preterit-presents" should be "preterite-presents"; p. 163, line 3, *þrall* should be *þrall*. There are further misprints on p. 161, in line 7 from the top, in line 16, and in line 23 from the top, and on p. 162, line 19 from the bottom. Finally on p. 161 the reviewer speaks of my discussing "preterit-present verbs (p. 293) Professor Flom says: "The preterite-present tense," etc., thus making it seem that I have a misprint even in the caption. The misprint is in the review.

GEORGE T. FLOM



Ref cout sub

OLD NORSE NOTES

I

Old Norse *verða* (at) and Germanic **mōtan*

It is a peculiar fact that while the verb **mōtan* existed both in Gothic and in West Germanic, no trace of it is found in Old Norse. The reason for the disappearance of this verb in Old Norse is evidently due to the fact that it was here replaced by some other verb or verbs whose meanings covered those of **mōtan*. Chief among these verbs must have been *verða* (at) + inf.

The original sense of **mōtan*, as it appears in the different Germanic dialects, was 'to have room, opportunity,' from which were later derived the ideas of 'having power, permission,' 'being able, possible,' 'must.'

Now, the verb **werþan* (Lat. *vert-ere*) had the primary sense of 'happen, turn out, come to pass, become,' etc., and in Old Norse we find this verb (*verða*) used in the derived senses of 'being put into a position (for doing something), enabled (to do something), have opportunity (to do something),' which senses cover those of **mōtan*. From the idea of 'being enabled (to do something)' there was later derived¹ the idea of 'compulsion, must,' exactly as in the case of **mōtan* 'have opportunity' > 'be enabled' > 'must' in the West Germanic languages. That this idea of 'compulsion' in the O.N. verb *verða* (with or without at) + inf. was at a very early date derived from the idea of 'being enabled' is evident from the fact that the verb is used in the *Elder Edda*² very frequently in the sense of 'must, be compelled,' cf., e.g.:

¹ Cf., e.g., *þér verðit lífi mínu at rðða* 'you now have come into the position to, i.e. are enabled to dispense with my life,' *Gisl.* 195 with *verðr heim at fara* 'one must go home,' *ibid.*, 43¹⁴.

² Gering in his *Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda* (Paderborn, 1896) cites 12 cases (one of which may be a doubtful reading, viz., *Gðr.* I, 9, 1) of *verða* (at) + inf. in the sense of 'must' in the *Elder Edda*.

Hymkv. 16

'Munum at aptni	qþrum verþa
viþ veiþimat	vér þrír lifa.'

'we three shall . . . have to live on food from the chase.'

Since the verb *verða* (at) + inf. in Old Norse seems to have covered the senses of **mōtan* we may conclude that for this reason the verb **mōtan* disappeared from the language.

An interesting semantic parallel to O.N. *verða* (at) + inf. 'get into a position to, be enabled to' > 'must' is offered by the Modern English 'get (=be put into a position, be enabled) to (do something)' (colloquial), 'have got to' > 'must.'

II

The Accusative Singular Ending -u(-o) of the δ-Declension

The accusative singular ending *-u(-o)* of the *δ*-declension in Old Norse seems to be regularly added only in the case of proper names (denoting women), cf. *Ingibjörg-u*, *Droplaug-u*, *Svanhvít-u*, *Ásleif-u*, etc. Very seldom and that too only in the case of nouns of this declension ending in *-ing* do we elsewhere find the ending *-u* in the accusative singular. Even here (i.e. *-ing-u*) the appearance of the *-u* seems to be much more frequent in the later than in the earlier language.³

Since the nominative singular form of the *δ*-declension is otherwise identical with the accusative form (cf. *sǫg*, *kerling*, etc., nom.-acc.) we may infer that the form of the nominative singular had supplanted the accusative form. This supposition is further borne out by the fact that the adjectival form of the feminine accusative singular of the *δ*-declension regularly ends in *-a*; cf. **spak-ōm* > **spak-ō* > O.N. *spak-a*. The adjectival form must be considered as the phonetically correct form,⁴ inasmuch as Prim. Germ. **-ōm* in final position elsewhere regularly becomes *-a* in Old Norse; cf. Runic **worah-ō* (< **worht-ōm*) > O.N. *ort-a* 'I wrought.' We may, therefore, conclude that the

³ Cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Grm.*⁴, §366, Anm. 2: "Selten, wenigstens in der älteren sprache, endet bei wörtern auf *-ing* auch der acc. sg. auf *-o(-u)*."

⁴ Cf. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*³, §210, 2 over against Noreen, *Aisl. Grm.*⁴, §373, Anm. 3, who evidently considers the ending *-u* of the acc. sing. of the nominal *δ*-declension as phonetically correct.

accusative singular ending *-u* of the nominal δ -declension does not represent a retention of the original vowel of the ending but a later accretion (as is shown by its more frequent usage in the later language) due to analogy with the corresponding case ending of some other feminine declension. My supposition is that this analogy was offered by the δn -stems, because there are between the δn -stems and the δ -stems two probable points of contact in the acc. sing. which could serve to associate the two declensions with each other, viz., (1) semantic and (2) formal.

1. It will be remembered that only proper names (denoting women) of the δ -declension regularly add *-u* in the accusative singular, cf. *Ingibjorg-u*, *Svanhvott-u*, etc. There are several such names belonging to the δn -declension (cf. *Freyj-a: Freyj-u*), also masculine names of feminine grammatical gender (cf. *Ell-a: Ell-u*, *Sturl-a: Sturl-u*, *Sifk-a: Sifk-u*), as well as a host of words denoting 'women' (cf. *gudj-a: gudj-u* 'priestess,' *hetj-a: hetj-u* 'brave person (woman or man),' *kon-a: kon-u* 'woman,' *frú: frú* 'lady,' etc.).

2. The transference of the accusative singular ending *-u* of the δn -declension from words of this type to proper names of the δ -declension seems all the more likely because of the fact that the dative singular ending *-u* was retained in both these types; cf. *Ingibjorg-u* dat.: *Freyj-u*, *kon-u*, etc., dat. From a formal viewpoint, then, the dative singular ending *-u* could have furnished an analogy for the transference of the accusative singular ending *-u* from the δn -declension to the δ -declension according to the proportion,⁵ e.g., *Freyj-u* dat.: *Ingibjorg-u* dat.: *Freyj-u* acc.: *Ingibjorg-u* acc., the latter form replacing the phonetically correct accusative form **Ingibjorg* without

⁵ Cf. Alois Walde, *Die germ. Auslautgesetze*, 1900, V. "Nordische und westgerm. Dative auf *-u*," p. 88: "Im Anord. bekam, wie oben bemerkt, die Form auf *-ō* die Oberhand, während die auf *-u* sichtlich im Rückgange ist und ihre Erhaltung in gewissen Wortgruppen wohl dem Einflusse der δn -Stämme verdankt, welcher bei den Eigennamen wie *Ingebjorgo* noch die Dazubildung eines acc. sg. auf *-o* veranlasste."

My analysis, therefore, agrees with Walde's exposition, who further shows that the retention also of the dative ending *-u* (*-o*) in the type *Ingebjorg-u* was due to the influence of the δn -stems.

ending = nom. sing. form (cf. *sqg: kerling* nom.-acc.). The close contact of the two declensions in words denoting 'women' may be seen in the case of the *ön*-stem *frú* which may also be inflected according to the *ö*-declension, viz., *frú*, *frú-ar*, *frú*, *frú* (cf. Noreen, *Aisl. Grm.*⁴, §408, 1).

III

Old Norse *dof* 'spear'

The word *dof* 'spear' is found only in the *Elder Edda*, and that too only in the phrase *dafa[r] darraðar*⁶ 'swinger of the spear,' a kenning for 'warrior' (*Akv.* 4, 7; 14, 9).

So far as I know, no etymology for this word has as yet been offered. Let me suggest the possibility that this word *dof* (<**dabu*) is derived from the Germanic root* **dab-*: **dub-* 'strike.'

From the root **dab-* we have M. Eng. *dabben* > Eng. *dab*, E. Fris. *dafen* 'klopfen, stampfen,' O.N. *daf-la* 'im Wasser plätschern, rühren,' Norw. (dial.) *dabba* 'stampfen, festklopfen,' Jutl. *dabe* 'Keule zum Lehmstampfen.'

From the related root **dub-* we have Angs. *dubbian* > Eng. *dub*, E. Fris. *dufen*, *duven* 'stossen,' Dutch *dof* 'Stoss, Ruder-schlag.'

The O.N. word *dof* then could mean 'something to strike with,' i.e., 'spear, club,' cf. Grk. *tribos* 'club.' Whether the Icelandic word *döf*⁸ which appears later in the prose sagas in the sense of 'rump' (cf. Norw. dial. *dov*, Scotch *doup* 'rump') is the same word as the poetic word *dof* 'spear' is not certain (cf. footnote 8). At any rate, the semantic connection between these two words is not clear.

⁶ The reading *dafar darraðar* *Akv.* 4, 7 has been emended by some to *dafar ok darraðar*, 'spears and javelins,' acc. plur.

⁷ For the Germanic root **dab-*: **dub-* and its derivatives see Falk und Torp, *Norw.-Dän.-Etym. Wb.* I, 28 sub *andþve* and I, 145 sub *dobbel*: also Fick's *Vgl. Wb. der indogerm. Sprachen*,⁴ pp. 201, 210.

⁸ Cf. Cleasby-Vigfússon, *Icelandic Dictionary*, p. 113 sub *döf*. In prose we have besides *döf* also *dafi* 'speer,' which is simply a by-form of the former word. Francis Wood (*Mod. Phil.*, 11, p. 331) connects Icelandic *döf* 'rump' with O.N. *dafna* 'stark, tüchtig sein,' N. Icel. *dafna*, 'thrive.'

IV

Old Norse fambi 'fool,' 'simpleton'.

The word *-fambi* occurs only once in O.N. literature and that too only in the compound *fimbul-fambi* 'arch-simpleton,' 'thoro fool,' which appears in the *Elder Edda*, *Hávamál*, 103,7:

fimbulfambi heitir sás fátt kann segja,
þat's ósnotr's aðal.

I derive the word *-fambi* from the stem **fam-* which with the iterative-diminutive verbal suffix *-la* appears in the Modern Scan. verbs Swed. *fam-la*, Dano-Norw. *fam-le* 'to fumble about,' 'stutter,' 'stammer.' The root **fam-* also appears in the Modern Scan. languages in ablaut variation as **fim-* and **fum-* with exactly the same meaning; cf. Norw. (dial.) *fimla: fumla*, Swed. *fumla*.

In the West Germanic languages we find all three variations of the root vowel in verbs with the iterative-diminutive suffix; cf. L.G. *fammeln*, M.L.G. *fimmeln*, Dutch *fommelen*, Eng. (dial.) *famble*: (dial.) *fimble*: *fumble*. These verbs have the same meaning as their Scandinavian cognates.

The root **fim-* also appears in both North and West Germanic verbs with the derivative suffix *-r*, having exactly the same meaning as those compounded with the suffix *-l*; cf. Norw. (dial.) *fim-ra* (along side of *fim-la*) and M.L.G. *fimme-ren* (along side of *fimme-len*).

The verbal form without suffix appears in Norw. (dial.) *fuma: fjuma* 'huden, sich ungeschickt, plump benehmen,' Swed. (dial.) *fumma* 'verwirrt sein.'

It is evident from the verbal forms just considered that the root **fam-* in the Scan. languages denoted the idea of 'awkwardness,' 'confusion,' 'helplessness,' etc. The word *fam-(b)-i* could then mean 'one who is awkward, bungling,' i.e. 'a fool,' 'simpleton.' For a parallel semantic development compare *-glapi*¹⁰ 'one who blunders,' 'an awkward person,' 'a fool.'

⁹ For the root **fam-* with variations cf. Falk u. Torp, *Norw.-Dän.-Etym. Wb.* II, sub *famle* (p. 203), *fimre* (p. 217) and *fomle* (p. 250).

¹⁰ See my article in *Scan. Studies*, VIII, pp. 42-43.

This derivation, however, leaves the *-b-* in the word *-fam-b-i* unaccounted for, but this *-b-* may be explained as due to the influence of the *-b-* in the word *fim-b-ul* with which *-fam-b-i* is associated in the compound; the word *fambi* does not occur as a simplex. This supposition as to the secondary origin of the *-b-* in *-fam-b-i* is based upon the contention that between the word *-fam-b-i* and the word *fim-b-ul* (with which the former was always used) certain associative elements existed which resulted in a contaminated form of the latter element of the compound. The associative elements are (1) formal and (2) semantic.

1. The syllable *fim-* in *fim-b-ul* and the syllable *fam-* in *fam-b-i* differ only as regards the root vowel (*i:a*).

2. The syllable *fim-* in *fim-b-ul* may have in conjunction with the syllable *fam-* in *fam-b-i* been associated in sense with the root **fim-* synonymous with **fam-*, cf. Norw. (dial.) *fim-la*: *fam-la*, Eng. (dial.) *fim-ble*: *fam-ble*;¹¹ cf. such ablaut variation in compound words as Germ. *fick-facken*, Eng. *tittle-tattle*, etc. Because of the association of the syllable *fim-* in *fim-b-ul* with the root **fim-* synonymous with the syllable *fam-* in *fam-b-i*, the compound *fimbul-fambi* could have been felt as meaning 'fool of fools,' 'simplest of simpletons' which is, of course, consonant with the original intensive force of *fimbul-*, as used in compounds, + *fambi*, i.e. 'arch-simpleton,' 'great fool' (cf. *fimbul-ljóð*, *-vetr*, etc.).

Such a close resemblance in form and meaning between the syllable *fim-* of *fim-b-ul* and the syllable *fam-* of *fam-b-i* warrants the conclusion that the *-b-* in *fam-b-i* is due to the influence of the *-b-* in *fim-b-ul*. The original form of the compound must then have been *fimbul-*fami*. The validity of the assumption of an original form *fimbul-*fami* rests upon the contention that the word **-fami* 'simpleton' is derived from a root **fam-* which denotes 'ackwardness,' 'helplessness,' etc. The meaning of this root has been sufficiently established by the examples of the verbs derived from this root in the Germanic languages.

¹¹ The *b* between *m* and *l* in these English words is of phonetic origin. In O.N. such a phonetic *b* was not generated after *m* except before *r* (cf. *ham(b)re* dat. sing. from *hamarr*); therefore the *-b-* in *fam-b-i* cannot be of phonetic origin.

V

Old Norse þriggja : Gothic þrijê Genitive 'three'

There seems to me no valid reason for assuming, as many scholars¹² do, that the O.N. form *þriggja* is phonetically correct and therefore goes back to P.G. *þrijj-*, whereas the Gothic form *þrijê* must go back to another root, i.e. P.G. **þrij-* without gemination.

The O.H.G. forms of the word, *drto:drtjo*, cannot be considered as a determining factor in this question, inasmuch as it is impossible to determine from the O.H.G. alone whether the *-j*.¹³ here is inorganic or organic. The question is, therefore, really confined to the Gothic and to the O.N. forms.

On the whole, it is safest to assume that the Gothic, being the older language, represents the original status in Germanic and that the O.N. form represents a later or secondary development. Van Helten (*P.B. Beitr.*, 30, 243) has already pointed out the fact that in the West Germ. languages the numerals were especially subject to analogical remodeling of form and the same may safely be assumed for the Old Norse. Van Helten mentions in his article (p. 243, footnote) the forms O.E.Fris. *twira*, M.L.G. *twi(g)er*, which can be explained upon no other ground than as analogical formations after the model of *thri(a)*, *dri(g)er*; and I see no valid reason why O.N. *þriggja* should not likewise be explained as an analogical formation after the fashion of *tveggja* 'two' (and *beggja* 'both'), which precedes 'three' in counting.

There is, however, one circumstance (evidently heretofore overlooked by scholars) which may have furnished the prime reason for the remodeling of the O.N. form in question. P.G. **þrij-ê* > Goth. *þrij-ê* would have become O.N. **þrtj-a* > **þrjá*; cf. Goth. *fijan* > O.N. *fjá*; Goth. *frijôn* O.N. > *frjá*, etc. A genitive form **þrjá*, however, would have coincided with the

¹² Cf. Kluge, *Urgerm.*, §300, p. 251; Osthoff, *Etym. Parerg.*, p. 319; Noreen, *Aisl. Grm.*, §227, 1; Kögel, *P.B. Beitr.*, IX, p. 544.

¹³ Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Grm.*, §117, Anm. 1. Tatian writes (98, 2. 128, 10) *thriio*, but the usual form elsewhere is *drjo* (i.e. *drto*).

accusative form *þrjá*,¹⁴ a fact which would naturally have led to the substitution of some other form for the genitive case. The substitution nearest at hand was the form *þriggja*; i.e. the form **þrjá* was replaced by *þriggja* modeled after the fashion of *tveggja* and *beggja*.

It seems to me that this congruity of form between **þrjá* (<**þriǵ-ð* : Goth. *þrijē*) gen. and *þrjá* acc. masc. is a sufficient reason for assuming that the form *þriggja* is a secondary development. We thus arrive at conformity between the North and East Germanic languages, both the Goth. *þrijē* and O.N. *þriggja* going back to a P.G. root **þriǵ-*; and the same may be assumed for the West Germ. languages (i.e. **þriǵ-ð* > O.H.G. *drto*,¹⁵ the form *drtjo* having the palatal glide). On the other hand, the dissonance between the O.N. form *þriggja* and Goth. *þrijē* is in itself not a sufficient ground for assuming that these two forms go back to a different P.G. root.

VI

The Old Norse Consonantal Stems Denoting Parts of the Body,
kinn 'chin', tǫnn 'tooth', hǫnd 'hand' and fótr 'foot',
finger 'finger.'

The consonantal stems *kinn*, *tǫnn* and *hǫnd* all have the forms of the *ð*-declension except in the nom.-acc. plur. where the old consonantal forms are still preserved, cf. *kinnr* : *kiðr*, *tenn* : *tennr* : *teðr* and *hendr*. Of these three words in question *kinn* and *hǫnd* were originally feminine gender (cf. Goth. *kinnus* f., *handus* f.), but *tǫnn* was originally masculine (cf. Goth. *tunpus* m., O.E. *tōð* m., O.Fris. *tōth* : *tond* m., O.S. *tand* m., O.H.G. *zan(d)* m.). The word *tǫnn*, therefore, represents a shift of gender by reason of the transition from the original con-

¹⁴ The acc. form *þrjá* was derived from **þréa* = **þré* + *a* (= the pronominal ending). The forms *þréa* and *þré*, which Noreen (*Aisl. Grm.*, §447) cites, occur so rarely that they cannot be considered as regular by-forms of *þrjá*. A genitive form **þrjd* would have been felt as the masculine acc. form.

¹⁵ For the West Germ. development *i + i > i* not in initial position cf. van Helten, *P.B.Beitr.*, 25, 467 f.

O.E. *ðrio-ra* (*ðréo-ra*) is a secondary formation probably from the nom.-acc. fem.-neuter *ðrio* (*ðréo*) + the pron. ending *-ra*. The form corresponding to O.H.G. *drto* is lacking in O.S.

sonantal forms to the forms of the δ -declension (i.e. masc. > fem.).

The consonantal stem *fótr* follows the model of the *u*-declension except in the nom.-acc. plur. where the original consonantal form *fþtr* (O.E. *fét*) is still preserved, parallel to the consonantal stems above discussed.

The noun *fingr* was originally an *a*-stem (cf. Goth. *figgr-s*) P.N. **fingr-R* < **fingr-aR* < P.G. **fingr-az*. When **fingr-R* became *fingr*, the word went over into the *u*-declension after the model of *fótr*,¹⁶ with new consonantal formation in the nom.-acc. plur., i.e. *fingr* like *fþtr*.

Both *fótr* and *fingr* were originally masculine gender (cf. Goth. *fótus m.*, *figgrs m.*) and thereby suffered no shift of gender in passing over from their original declensions into the new declension.

Since the noun *tönn* was originally masculine gender like *fótr* and *fingr* and since these words all denote parts of the body, the question arises as to why these words did not receive a like treatment. That is, why did original **tanþ-R m.* go over into the δ -declension, whereas original **fót-R m.* and **fingr-R m.* went over into the *u*-declension?

The answer to this question is simple enough. The starting point for the analogy between the consonantal stems and the feminine δ -stems was evidently the loss of the nom. sing. ending *-R*; cf. *kinn* (< **kinn-R*)¹⁷ : **tann* (< **tann-R*) with

¹⁶ It will be noted that the noun *arm-r* (= Goth. *arm-s*), *a*-stem, though denoting a part of the body (i.e. 'arm'), did not, like *fingr*-, follow the model of *fótr* but remained a pure *a*-stem. There are, however, a few consonantal stems ending in *-r* (cf. *veitr* 'weather,' *dýr-r* plur. 'door') and these may have had some bearing on the fact that *fingr* formed its nom.-acc. plur. like a consonantal stem (i.e. *fingr* like *veitr* : *dýrr*). If this hypothesis be correct, then we may assume that the nom.-acc. form *fingr* : *fþtr* was the starting point for the analogy between *fótr* and *fingr*. The other forms of *fingr* could then easily have followed those of *fótr* because both words denote parts of the body. On the other hand, there is no reason why any case form of *armr* should have been felt as belonging to the consonantal stems.

¹⁷ The nom. sing. ending *-R* of the consonantal stems had replaced an earlier P.G. *-s*; i.e. P.N. **kinn-R*, **tanþ-R*, **fót-R*, **hand-R*, etc. go back to an earlier P.G. **kinn-s*, **tanþ-s*, **fót-s* (replacing an original **fós-s*), **hand-s*, etc.: cf. my article "Regarding the Nominative Singular Ending *-r* in Old Norse," *Scan. Studies*, VIII, pp. 80-83.

qxl, δ -stem, where the nom. sing. was without the *R*-ending.

On the other hand, the form *fōlr* (<*fōl-R) was identical with that of the *u*-declension where the ending *-r* was regularly preserved, cf. *vōndr* < P.N. **vandur* < Goth. *wandus*; and the same is true of *fiŋgr* (<*fiŋgr-R) where the stem of the word already ended in *-r*.

The loss of the nom. sing. ending *-R* was phonetic in the case of **kinn-R* > *kinn*, i.e. after original *nn*, cf. Goth. *ki-nn-us*. In the case of **tannp-R* > **tann-R* > **tann*¹⁸ the loss of the *-R* may have been phonetic or may have occurred by force of analogy with **kinn-R* > *kinn*. The form **tann* was then replaced by *tōnn* with analogical *u*-umlaut of *a* after the model of the δ -stems, cf. *qxl* < **axl-u* < **axl-ō*.

The noun **hand-R* (earlier **hand-s*, cf. footnote 17) would have given a phonetically correct form **handr*, but since this word was feminine gender, the form **handr* was replaced by *hōnd* after the fashion of *tōnn* which was likewise feminine and which likewise denoted a part of the body. The form *hōnd* is, like *tōnn*, an analogical formation after the model of the feminine δ -stems, cf. *qxl*.

This explanation of the form *hōnd* is far more convincing than to derive it directly from the Gothic *handus*, for the following reasons; (1) because, if *hōnd* were derived from an earlier **hand-uz*, the loss of the final *-z* (= Goth. *-s*, O.N. *-R* > *-r*) could not be explained, and (2) because Goth. *handus* (like *kinnus*, *tunpus* and *fōtus*) undoubtedly represents a secondary Gothic development and not the original P.G. status. The preservation of the consonantal form *hendr* nom.-acc. plur. in O.N. shows that this word originally belonged to the consonantal declension, just as is the case with *kinn*, *tenn*, *fōlr* (cf. O.E. *tēð*, *fēl*) over against Goth. *kinnus*, *tunpus* and *fōtus* of the *u*-declension. As a rule, the original consonantal stems in the Germanic languages broke down in favor of the vocalic declensions and not vice-versa. The secondary Gothic development was no doubt due to the congruity of form between the dat. and acc. plur. endings of the consonantal stems and those of the *u*-declension¹⁹ (cf. **hand-ŋ* >

¹⁸ For a discussion of this question see my article "Old Norse *-ðr* from **-nn+r*", *J.E.Germ.Phil.*, XXIII, pp. 78-82.

¹⁹ Cf. van Helten, *P. B. Beitr.*, 15, p. 459, Anm. 1.

hand-um and **hand-ys > hand-uns*). It is, therefore, most reasonable to assume that both O.N. *hǫnd* and Gothic *handus* go back to P.G. **hand-s*, consonantal stem. The form **hand-s* was replaced in Gothic by *hand-us*, in P.N. by **hand-R* which later in O.N. was replaced by *hǫnd* after the model of *lǫnn* : *kinn* which were both feminine gender and which had both conformed to the *ð*-declension, cf. *qxl*.

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AN EDDA PARALLEL IN TENNYSON'S
"PRINCESS"

Among the songs interspersed in the narrative of Tennyson's *Princess* is the following:¹

Home they brought her warrior dead:
She nor swoon'd, nor uttered cry:
All her maidens, watching, said,
"She must weep or she will die."

Then they praised him, soft and low,
Call'd him worthy to be loved,
Truest friend and noblest foe;
Yet she neither spoke nor moved.

Stole a maiden from her place,
Lightly to the warrior stept,
Took the face-cloth from the face;
Yet she neither moved nor wept.

Rose a nurse of ninety years,
Set his child upon her knee—
Like summer tempest came her tears—
"Sweet my child, I live for thee."

S. E. Dawson, a contemporary critic of *The Princess*, writes in a note on this passage:²

"The opening song [of Canto VI],
Home they brought her warrior dead,
is probably a later version or adaptation of a song first published in a volume of selections issued in 1865, and which is not found in most of the editions of Tennyson's collected works.

Home they brought him slain with spears.
They brought him home at even fall:
All alone she sits and hears
Echoes in his empty hall,
Sounding on the morrow.

¹ *The Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, London and New York, 1888, IV, 105.

² *A Study with Critical and Explanatory Notes, of Lord Tennyson's Poem The Princess*, 2nd ed., Montreal, 1884, p. 101 f.

The sun peeped in from open field,
 The boy began to leap and prance,
 Rode upon his father's lance,
 Beat upon his father's shield,
 "Oh hush, my joy, my sorrow."

"This song may have been suggested by a passage in Scott
 —*Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto i.—

But o'er her warrior's bloody bier
 The Ladye dropped nor flower nor tear!
 Vengeance deep-brooding o'er the slain
 Had locked the source of softer woe,
 And burning pride and high disdain
 Forbade the rising tear to flow;
 Until, amid his sorrowing clan,
 Her son lisped from the nurse's knee—
 "And if I live to be a man,
 My father's death revenged shall be."
 Then fast the mother's tears did seek
 To dew the infant's kindling cheek.

"The result is the same, but the motive ascribed by Tennyson is more natural and womanly. This passage is an instance of unconscious imitation."

The central situation in Tennyson's song is strikingly like that in the *First Lay of Guthrun* of the Poetic Edda.³ In the words of the compiler:

"Guþrún sat yfir Sigurði dauðum; hon grét eigi sem aðrar konur, en hon var búin til at springa af harmi. Til gengu bæði konur ok karlar at hugga hana, en þat var eigi auðvelt."

The lay begins:

Ár vas þats Guþrún górpisk at deyja,
 es sorgfull sat of Sigurði;
 górpit hjúfra né höndum slá
 né kveina umb sem konur aðrar.

Gengu jarlar alsnotrir fram,
 þeirs harðs hugar hána löttu:
 þeygi Guþrún gráta mátti,
 svá vas möpug, mundi springa.

The wives of the jarls then attempt to console Guthrun by

³ Citations are from Gering's text, *Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, 4th ed., Paderborn, 1922.

telling their sorrows, "the bitterest each had known." Gjaflaug, sister of Gjuki, and Herborg, Queen of the Huns, recount their woes, but without the desired effect:

þeygi Guþrún	gráta mátti,
svá vas móþug	at móg dauþan
ok harþhuguþ	of hrör fylkis.

At last a younger woman, Guthrun's sister Gollrond, succeeds where the others have failed:

Svipti blæju	af Sigurði
ok vatt vengi	fyr vífs knæum:
'Lít á ljúfan,	legg munn við grön,
sem halsaðir	heilán stilli!

Á leit Guþrún	einu sinni;
sá doglings skör	dreyra runna,
fránar sjónir	fylkis liþnar,
hugborg jöfurs	hjørvi skorna.

þá hné Guþrún	höll við holstri,
haddr losaði,	hlýr roþnafi,
.....
en regns dropi	rann niðr of kné. . .

It will be seen that there is a remarkable resemblance between these two poems as to locus, central idea, manner of treatment, even meter—the four-line, four-accent, trochaic stanzas of Tennyson's poem suggest the dominant rhythm of the Old Norse *Fornyrðislag*. The climactic structure is very similar. In each case the repetition after the failure of the successive attempts: "Yet she neither spoke nor moved," "Yet she neither moved nor wept"; stanzas 2, 5 and 10 of the *Lay of Guthrun*: "þeygi Guþrún gráta mátti," etc. The inversion of subject and verb in both poems is a familiar characteristic of Germanic popular poetry.

There are evident divergences. Tennyson has nothing corresponding to the attempts at consolation by the recital of misfortunes which have overtaken others, what may be called the Deor-motif. The praise of the dead hero, spoken in Tennyson's poem by the maidens as a means to their end, is in the Eddic lay uttered by Guthrun after her tongue has been loosened

by the saving outburst of grief.⁴ Nevertheless, the total impression of similarity must be said to be almost inescapable until one comes to the final stanza of the song. Here is the most striking deviation, with a complete change in the climax; the device which succeeds in the *Lay of Guthrun* is merely one of the unavailing efforts to console the lady of Tennyson's little ballad; it is the appearance of the child, an element unknown to the Old Norse poet, which works the transformation. Guthrun is consoled by the sympathy and sisterly understanding of Gollrond, after the older women have failed; Tennyson's heroine, who remains disconsolate in spite of her maidens' attempts to comfort her, weeps and lives for her child, brought to her by a "nurse of ninety years."

If we were to consider the *Lay of Guthrun* and Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel* as sources of Tennyson's song and to attempt an evaluation of their relative importance, we might formulate our conclusion somewhat as follows: The general similarity to the song is distinctly greater in the *Lay of Guthrun*, up to the final stanza, where the song introduces a new element, evidently suggested by Scott's poem. It would then be an open question which source furnished the original suggestion and which caused the modification of the theme—the assumption of an earlier variant in the poem quoted by Dawson would imply the probability of Scott's precedence.

Could Tennyson have been influenced by the *Edda*? I can find no evidence that he could read Old Norse in the original, and the *Lay of Guthrun* had not been translated into English when *The Princess* was published.⁵ However, it is entirely conceivable that the author of *Harold*, the poet who has probably given the final form in English literature to the materials of Arthurian romance, himself perhaps of Danish descent, among whose Cambridge friends was the Anglo-Saxon scholar Kemble, and who translated the *Battle of Brunanburh* (aided, to be

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 340 f.

⁵ The third edition of *The Princess*, in which the songs were printed for the first time, appeared in 1850. Thorpe's translation of the *Edda Samundar* did not come out until 1866. Previous translators of the *Poetic Edda* (Cottle, 1797, Herbert, 1804, 1842) had not included the *Lay of Guthrun* in their renderings.

sure, by his son's prose version), may have at some time held in his hand the second volume (1818) of the great Copenhagen Edda, which contains the Guthrun Lays together with an excellent Latin translation and glossary. The possibility of direct influence is then by no means excluded.

Was there some other as yet discovered source? The motif does not appear to be a common one, since no analogue is mentioned in the commentary to the *Edda* of Detter and Heinzel, so copious and learned in the citation of literary parallels.

When all is said, however, it must be admitted that the general resemblances of form and content between Tennyson's song and the *Lay of Guthrun*, evident as they are, do not in themselves offer conclusive proof that the older poem is the source of the later. In the absence of corroborative external testimony we shall do well to be cautious and resist the temptation to "impute ourselves to the poet," a presumptuous weakness of delvers into literary history which the late Laureate most properly, if somewhat pontifically, reproved in a letter to Dawson after reading that critic's *Study*.⁶ This interesting document deserves to be read and pondered by over-zealous *Parallelenjäger*.

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⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. IX ff.; reprinted in *Alfred Lord Tennyson, a Memoir, by his Son*, London and New York, 1897, I, 256 ff.

A FORGOTTEN SPEECH BY STRINDBERG

In my Strindberg collection I keep a copy of "*Skånska Dagbladet*" dated March 18, 1890. This copy contains a description of the banquet given in honor of August Strindberg on the evening of March 15, immediately after the first performance of "*Master Olof*" at *Dramatiska teatern* in Stockholm. On this occasion Strindberg responded to a toast in a speech which the paper prints in extenso. It reads as follows:

Mina damer och herrar!

Jag är icke talare, jag är skriftställare, därför har jag skrivit, vad jag vill säga.

Den som skriver mycket och mångt, kan icke just ha mycket över till ett tal, men det äger jag säga, att er inbjudning denna afton gjort mig stor glädje och på samma gång stort bry. Det kan icke vara någon jubelfest, ty man jublar icke över sina nederlag; icke en minnesfest, ty man glömmar ju gärna sina missöden och motgångar. Denna fest har varit mig lika mångtydig som den lager ni skänkt mig i afton, ty denna hade fordom många symboler. Det var Apollos träd, men vi tro icke längre på Apollo, och skaldehyran har förlorat förtroendet. Lagern var segrarens lön, men jag har icke vunnit någon seger. Det evigt gröna trädet tillskrevs också slutligen en kraft att bringa frid och sämja med sig och begagnades därför vid gästabud. Om vi skulle stanna vid denna enklare tolkning av både lagern och festen, så kunna vi ändock icke undgå att tänka på de strider, som föregått, men tänka på dem utan vrede och ondska.

Jättarna kastade sten, där vi ville bygga nykyrka, och vi spände oss för blocket, men fastän vi drogo, en hit, en dit, så skulle stenen rubbas framåt eller bakåt, bara den kom undan.

Var jag inte med bland de allra starkaste, så var jag med likafullt, och blev jag trött, satte jag mig på vägkanten och sjöng för dem, som höllo bättre ut, och när det blåste isbarkar gjorde jag stundom, som orrfågeln i dylikt fall, då jag gick ut i skogen och lät snöa ner mig för att vänta på blidväder. Man har någon gång trott att jag avfallit, när jag endast som klok seglare har fallit av för att ta fullt igen, och det har varit lika

mycket en optisk villa, det, som de omtalade stjärnfallen, vilka icke äro några stjärnor och icke heller lära falla, allra minst, från himmelen.

Den tidrymd, som nu gått tillända, har varit en stormig tid med många kritiska dagar, men den dag, som nu går in har ock varit i mänsklighetens historia en särdeles kritisk dag. Den är Idus Martii, den 15 mars, eller den 25 i revolutionsmånaden Ventose.

Mina damer och herrar, låt mig tacka er för er fest och på samma gång be er tömma en skål för denna vårstormarnas månad, att den lyckligt måtte gå ut, så att vi snart få hälsa den stundande, den drömda Germinal!

This speech seems to be entirely forgotten, for otherwise I can see no reason why it has not found a place in his collected works which contain many less remarkable articles. The objection that it is but a *speech* does not hold. Strindberg himself says in the beginning that he is no speaker, he is an author and therefore he has written down what he intends to say—an additional example, by the way, of Strindberg's strict adherence to the truth. It is a fact that he was no speaker. So far as I know he appeared as such before a large audience only twice except on this occasion. The first one was when, on October 20, 1884, he arrived at Stockholm to stand trial for the blasphemy in his book *Giftas*. At the railway station he was greeted by an immense crowd of people who cheered him and to whom he made the following speech: "I thank you. I notice you have air in your lungs now. When I left Sweden it was so close that one could hardly breathe. Come what may, I shall do my duty." We must admit that this is not very much of a speech for such a remarkable occasion and the final words of it fall miserably flat. When, on November 17, he was acquitted he made another short speech outside his hotel, of which speech, however, I have no record. In his *Strindbergsminnen*, speaking of Strindberg's failure at a recital he gave together with Drachmann in Berlin in the winter 1893, Adolf Paul says that Strindberg's memory became completely paralyzed as soon as he tried to appear publicly. Strindberg himself in a newspaper article, discussing the proposed celebration of his

birthday, January 22, 1912, confesses once more that he is no speaker "lacking voice and control of mind." (*Saml. Skrifter* vol. LIII : 552)

Granting all of this, I consider this speech, or whatever you may call it, a little gem of literary art and very characteristic of Strindberg at that time. I am going to use it as a picture of him as he appeared in the spring of 1890.

Our attention is first attracted by the conciliatory tone so seldom found in Strindberg before his *Inferno* period. There is just one little touch of bitterness when he refers to his "defeats" (nederlag), "disappointments" (missöden), and "adversities" (motgångar); otherwise the entire speech seems to radiate contentment and peace and harmony. So, he says, he wants to interpret the symbol of the laurels, which had been handed him at the theater after the performance and he wishes to think of the battles "without wrath or malevolence."

No doubt life looked a little brighter to Strindberg just in those days. For a year, he had been back home in Sweden again after an exile of six long years—Sweden which, in spite of all, he so dearly loved and never could forget, the only country in which he could live and feel happy. Shortly after his return home he writes to Heidenstam: "Nu sitter jag ensam i en fiskarstuga på en ö och är hänryckt, förälskad i skärgårdsnaturen och svenska dieten ända till sentimentalitet. Känner mig 20 år yngre i stilla dårskapliga drömmier, avskyende minnet av utland." Probably he is already negotiating for his journeys through different provinces in order to gather material for his book about Sweden—a work that must have been very dear to his heart. He has had it in mind for almost a year and when he started out the following September the traveling expenses were guaranteed by three maecenas (among them Vult v. Steyern who presided at the banquet). His domestic affairs had been satisfactorily arranged for the time being. A reconciliation, I do not know which one in number, with his wife had taken place and in a couple of weeks he was to be united again with his family and move out to his beloved skerries outside of Stockholm. That this happiness should last for only a few weeks and come to an abrupt and tragic end he, of course, did not know.

After all of his disappointments as a dramatist both in Denmark and at home he sees his dramas begin to meet with success. *Fordringsägare* was accepted at Svenska teatern. The two one-act plays, *Paria* and *Samum*, were to be given at a private performance in the same theater ten days later. *Hemsö-borma* had the preceding year been given by August Lindberg both in Göteborg and Stockholm. Now, to crown it all, came the final victory, the presentation of the masterpiece of his youth, *Master Olof*, at the Royal Theater after a delay of not less than fourteen years. Others of his works, too, had won some recognition. A Swedish translation of his *Les relations de la France avec la Suède*, written the year before, appeared in *Ur Dagens Krönika*. (It was published in Paris the following year and brought him an offer of the order Legion d'honneur, which he, of course, declined.) His *Spansk-portugisiska minnen i Sverige* was also published in the same magazine, *Ur Dagens Krönika*, and a French translation thereof appeared in *Boletín de la real academia de la historia* in October, 1890. One of his novels, that he himself placed very high, *I havsbandet*, was half finished, the first seven chapters having been written in 1889; he now completed it during the months of April, May, and June. We realize that those days, in March, 1890, were happy days for Strindberg. They were, however, to be very few.

Although Strindberg was working on a novel, if *I havsbandet* really deserves that name; he was, at this time, as so many times before, thinking of abandoning the *belles-lettres* and devoting himself entirely to scholastic and scientific work. He refers to this in his speech: "vi tro icke längre på Apollo, och skaldeyrar har förlorat förtroendet." Six weeks later he writes in a letter to Heidenstam: "Vad skall jag svara dig på dina frågor, jag som icke tänkt över skönlitteraturen på så länge, då jag bereder mig övergå till det lärda ståndet och lämnar belles-lettres åt ungdomen och damerna." It took, however, a year and a half before he carried out this decision in earnest, and then, fortunately, only to return after a few years to his first love—Apollo.

In the speech Strindberg sums up his life's work as being an effort to remove all that which would hinder everything that

made for progress and development. But, noteworthy is the tolerance with which he speaks of those of different opinion from him who also took part in this work. "Jättarna kastade sten, där vi ville bygga nykyrka, och vi spände oss för blocket, men fastän vi drogo, en hit, en dit, så skulle stenen rubbas, sak samma om den rubbades framåt eller bakåt, bara den kom undan." The cause for this tolerance, no doubt, is to be sought in the fact that Strindberg himself just then had changed views. He had abandoned socialism and his former democratic interests. Already in January, 1887, he wrote to Heidenstam that he had dissented from socialism which he considered to be nothing but idealism and German philosophy, and in a letter to Georg Brandes of April 12, 1890, he says: "Redan 1885 efter giftasprocessen började jag operera mig från demokratismen, som låg kvar i mitt blod. . . . Även socialismen gick jag experimenterande igenom och rensade ur mig. . . . Nu synes mig som om jag endast tvungits ned till demokrati av masstrycket nerifrån och avundens tramp uppifrån. Född aristokrat, men aldrig haft råd och lägenhet visa det. . . ." (*Tilskuaren*, 1916). We find proof of this in several of his writings; for instance, in *Författaren* (1886; *Saml. skrifter* XIX), in *De små* and in *Hjörnornas kamp* (1887; *Saml. skrifter* XXII). In the two last mentioned he has anticipated Nietzsche whose acquaintance he afterwards made. He became one of his most faithful adherents. With the same enthusiasm with which he had confessed socialism he now preached the aristocratic radicalism of Nietzsche, and abjured his faith in and love for the lowly and the oppressed, especially in *Tschandala* (1888; *Saml. skrifter* XII) and in *I havsbandet* (1890; *Saml. skrifter* XXIV). At the same time he became interested in Edgar Allan Poe, whose works he borrowed from Ola Hansson. He threw his former naturalism over board, studied mysticism and hypnotism, and expressed his belief that Poe, who died (October 7, 1849) the same year Strindberg was born (January 22, 1849) had moved his soul over into that of Strindberg. (Letter to Ola Hansson, *Tilskuaren* 1912) Already in his early drama *Gillet hemlighet* (1880), he saw Poe's influence; we find it, more plainly, in *Paria* (1888-89) and *Samum* (1889). It was a complete change of

front as was always the case with Strindberg, and no doubt he was subjected to severe criticism by many of his friends.

More than once he had been accused of apostasy. He defends himself in the speech against this accusation. Referring to the last lines of *Mäster Olof*:

"Styr högt mot vinden, rätt ut på fjärden,
dit bort mot målet, dit du vill så gärna:
du faller dock av, som vi gjorde alla,
om ock ditt märke du tar på en stjärna,
ty himlens stjärnor ju också falla . . ."

he maintains that he has not deserted ("affallit"), only sometimes luffed before the wind ("fallit av") as a wise sailor in order to get, afterwards, more wind in his sails. He looks back upon his life as one long stormy season with many critical days. But, this day, March 15, has also been a critical day in the history of the world. It is *Idus Martii*, or the 25th of the month *Ventose* in the calendar of the French Revolution. Why did he call to mind those two dates? Was it because he remembered how in writing *Mäster Olof* he constantly had Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in mind (See *Saml. skrifter* vol. LIII pp. 123)? Was it because the centennial of the French Revolution had been celebrated the year before? In one of his poems of 1883, Strindberg had promised that he also would contribute to that celebration; was not he the man to do this? But, when in 1889 he was going to fulfil his promise, he found nothing that he cared to celebrate. Nietzsche and Poe had come between. The revolution had, nevertheless, occupied his thoughts. Now the equinoctial storms had passed. He proposes a toast to the coming month of *Germinal*, the month of germination and sprouting, the month of the longed for spring. Poor Strindberg! For him no *Germinal* was to come until he had passed through a season more stormy than any *Ventose*. Before him lay *Inferno* and the road *To Damaskus*.

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*A SWEDISH TRAVELOGUE OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*

Per Lindeström's Journey to New Sweden*

In the year 1691, in the province of Värmland, an invalid of unknown age was writing what proved to be the most entertaining and informative Swedish travelogue of the seventeenth century. Confined to his bed for many years, he had finally yielded to the request of intellectual friends, both "worldly and spiritual," to record his experiences of the early fifties. His fortune, he said, had been spent on medicine, and a dedication to the young Prince Charles (XII) indicated a reluctant but urgent motive of appeal for some tangible royal favor. The writer was the former fortification engineer, Per Lindeström, a member of the famous tenth expedition to New Sweden, which in 1653-54 had been sent out to the relief of Governor Johan Printz and his colony, and the story he was telling concerned himself and his visit to the Swedes on the Delaware. In fact, it was the "first and only comprehensive account" of a journey to that settlement. His preface to the "honorable and benevolent reader," dated December 21, became a pathetic farewell address, for ere the year had come to a close, the traveler had embarked on his last, long voyage.

Lindeström's manuscript, now published at last in a slightly condensed and abbreviated form of two hundred pages, has lain secreted, though not forgotten, in Swedish archives for over two centuries. The language of the text, with its frequent Latin sentence-structure and an abundance of French, German, and Latin words, gives the very medium of expression a quaintness of its own. Now and then the author's memory is unreliable; a tendency for occasional hyperbole may be found in the size of his rattlesnakes; flying fishes, also, of extraordinary

* Per Lindeströms *Resa till Nya Sverige 1653-56, skildrad av honom själv i hans handskrift GEOGRAPHIAE AMERICAE ELLER INDIAE OCCIDENTALIS BESKRIFFFNING*. (With 3 maps and 27 illustrations.) Stockholm, Wahlström and Widstrand, 1923.

proportions dash against the sails of his ship; and, somehow, among the inhabitants of the deep the omnipresent dragons, sirens, and mermaids of earlier fame are rediscovered. In a few instances the narrative is embellished with a real harrowing skipper's yarn; and yet, it is easy for a reader of today to separate fact from fancy, and Lindeström must have followed some kind of diary. In reality he has the keen glance of a scientist; his descriptions are graphic, and interest in his tales is maintained by a humorous attitude toward most of the events related. He is a staunch Lutheran, and once he had the opportunity to defend his faith against some conniving monks on the Canary Islands, who were trying to convert him; but he never hesitated to expose with a delightful temper the underhanded "Christian" dealings with the Indians. When the Christian sold powder to the Red Man, says Lindeström, he measured it out by handfulls and made his hand so small that the Indian got only half of what he ought to have; and when the native bought cloth it was stretched in such an ingenious way that he obtained but two yards for three. We suspect that here, at least, the engineer is telling the truth.

As for himself, once in the Canaries Lindeström came near being stabbed to death by a Frenchman; at one time, when he refused to kneel before the Catholic images in an Easter procession and stones began to fly about his head, he was rescued from the wrath of the frenzied, self-chastizing mob by a nun; he lost all of his engineering instruments in the sea when they were being hoisted aboard his ship for the return voyage to Sweden; and coming home through Germany he was ambushed and robbed of all of his possessions by an officer, and only with great difficulty obtained redress. An amusing incident took place on the Island of St. Christopher in the West Indies. Once, Commissary Rising (later governor) and himself were riding through an orchard full of a strange, almond-like fruit. Rising ate seven green almonds and suffered dire consequences, but Lindeström rode a mule so small that he could reach only three and remained well. He does not reveal, however, that he was at one time summoned before the magistrate in New Sweden for having "beaten an Englishman blue."

A refreshing variety of material is recorded by this writer. First we are treated to a fitting discussion of the value of culture in general and the knowledge of geography in particular, pointing out that the advantages of careful *reading* far outweigh any superficial *observations*. Soon we are introduced to international carousals in the English Channel, where repeated toasts to the sovereigns of host and guest are drunk in diplomatic concord. In one English port the Swedes deemed it wise to open their purses to some serenading musicians. Now we hear the Swedish boat spending its powder in a thundering salute to a passing foreign vessel that is looking for the slightest pretext to stir up trouble; now the emigrants are presenting a Spanish official with his favorite rarity, a smoked ham, to lubricate better the pending negotiations, and are ostentatiously addressing their leader as "governor" to make an effective impression upon the local dignitaries. Time and again we watch the Swedish boat lift anchor at way stations, hoist its sails in "Jesus's name," and proceed westward; and once the reader sees the crew jubilating over an adroit escape from three suspicious-looking Turkish craft. We smile as the engineer pictures the rather illogical practice by West Indian islanders of driving off the effect of heat by fiery French brandy, especially when our hero implies that he, too, in "Rome must do as the Romans do"; but then comes the moralizing admonition that, after all, "moderation is a virtue."

In America we see the Dutch buying at a bargain alledgedly the same land from the Indians that the Swedes had previously purchased, and we rejoice when their plan of passing counterfeited Indian money is frustrated. One may compare the garments of the Indian squaw with those on the Canary Islands, where women wear skirts so wide, Lindeström assures us, that they could not pass through an ordinary Swedish door. And you should see the Indian baby strapped to a board so that his little body will remain straight! The eastern American fauna and flora are representatively depicted; the social, climatic, and economic conditions of New Sweden are described with compelling simplicity and frankness; we sympathize with the less favored immigrants whom we behold working off their passage

money under a form of compulsion; and the colonial custom of exporting only the poorest tobacco is noted. Lindeström is interested most in the American Indian. For forty pages, out of a total of eighty on America proper, we may follow the language, religion, customs, character, and handicraft of the "savage." The friendly relations between the Swedes and the Indians are properly emphasized: no harm would come to a native so long as he left the settler's pigs and cattle alone, but beware of the Red Man's brutality if irritated. We are obliged, of course, to witness the humiliating Swedish capitulation to the Hollanders, amid the vigorous protests from Lindeström and other loyal fellow countrymen. Not everything related is of equal import, but all is good reading. Most vivid and absorbing is the description of the outgoing journey.

The present American plan of selecting immigrants in their home ports is apparently but the revival of a practice instituted by necessity in Göteborg in 1654. Stories of immense riches in the New World had prompted hundreds of Swedes to sell their homes and household effects to settle across the sea. The first modern Scandinavian emigrant-fever was on! So, when the *Örnen*, several weeks out of Stockholm, arrived in Göteborg, late in 1653, en route for New Sweden, it found there a much larger human cargo awaiting its arrival than it could possibly carry. The officials then decided on a severe method of selection, and no criminals were accepted at all, lest "God the Highest let His revenge and punishment strike" good and bad passengers alike. Many a family which had sold its property at a sacrifice had to be left behind, causing untold misery.

It became a long voyage, full of exciting adventure, to be sure, but also of inconceivable suffering. The final hardships of that trip, which did not terminate until the party arrived in front of Fort Kristina, May 22, 1654, are indescribable! Well might the eye-witness exclaim with Lindeström: "Let him who knows not how to pray to his God but undertake such a long and perilous sea-voyage, and I am convinced that he will learn how!" A stone heart could have melted at the sorrow, anxiety, and lamentation on that tenth expedition! An epidemic broke out in mid-ocean: the deck was so hot that one could bake

herring on it, says our survivor; congestion, poor food, and foul water favored the ravages of the disease, and scores of emigrants never reached their destination. The gruesome sea burials took place in the early morning, amid the honoring but mournful farewells of musketry and cannon. A departed officer received two cannon salutes, a commoner one. Yet, with a faith that should literally move mountains—to us it sounds like grim irony—Per Lindeström announces at the end that the journey, “honor be to God, had come to a safe conclusion.” In the spring of 1656 he was back home.

At the close of the manuscript, the dying engineer of New Sweden is still able, with a cheerfully resigned heart, to reiterate: “God be eternally praised and honored for His divine blessings! Amen, Amen!”

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REVIEWS

SÖREN KIERKEGAARD. *Collected Works* (New Edition). Published by A. B. Drachmann, J. L. Heiberg and H. O. Lange; and his *Journal* ("Efterladte Papierer") published by P. A. Heiberg and V. Kuhr, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, Copenhagen, Printers.

One of the greatest privileges that came to the writer during his recent stay in Europe was that of becoming personally acquainted with Dr. H. O. Lange, Director of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, one of the publishers of Kierkegaard's works, and undoubtedly the greatest of all Kierkegaard scholars. His profound learning is only surpassed by a personality which has already left a deep impression upon the intellectual as well as on the religious life of Northern Europe. Dr. Lange, whose life has been practically dedicated to the noble cause of extending the sphere of influence of the Kierkegaardian literature, was kind enough to make arrangements with his publishers, Gyldendalske Boghandel, to send the writer the six volumes which have to date appeared of the new edition of Kierkegaard's *Collected Works* together with the ten volumes of Kierkegaard's *Journal* now on the market, with the request that they be reviewed in American periodicals. This brief review is a belated acknowledgement of this favor.

We shall not attempt a review of either the new or the old edition of Kierkegaard's works in the usual sense of this term. Space would not permit an extended criticism of the life work of this intellectual giant. Nor is this necessary. The many commentaries which are concerned with the influence of this Danish philosopher upon contemporary thought in the Scandinavian countries, in Germany, and even in Scotland and England, touch upon every phase of his tremendous literary production and make a considerable library of their own. In Germany, Kierkegaard is studied with the same enthusiasm as are the great German philosophers. Recent research work of such Norwegian scholars as Dr. Anathon Aall, Dr. Harald Beyer, and Miss Valborg Erichsen have shown the debt of influence such men as Ibsen and Björnson owe the Socrates of the North, as Kierkegaard has been called. Troels-Lund, in Denmark, has traced his influence upon the great thinkers of the past seventy years in that country, and Harald Höfding, the philosopher, is still, from time to time, paying tribute to the remarkable genius who, more than anyone else, has influenced his own life. For the benefit of such as are looking for a reliable review and an intelligent appreciation and evaluation of Kierkegaard's works, we would refer to two writers, both of whom have to a remarkable degree sensed the purpose and the worth of Kierkegaard's literary production. The late Dr. W. Rudin, of the University of Upsala, has undoubtedly written the most comprehensive review of all the Kierkegaardian literature, and, as against Georg Brandes, the famous Danish critic, whose review of Sören Kierkegaard he attacked, he has unquestionably given the most intelligent and faithful interpretation. Dr. David F. Swenson, of the University of Minnesota, who, without doubt, is America's leading Kierkegaard scholar, has also written a most sympathetic though brief

review of Kierkegaard's life and work in the February, 1920, issue (Volume VI, No. 1) of *SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES*. This is the only complete review that has appeared in the English language and would therefore be particularly useful to the American scholar who wishes to get a reliable first impression of this great Danish thinker. (Another shorter, but very comprehensive, review has recently been published by Professor L. M. Hollander to be referred to later): Dr. Swenson sums up his impressions in this concluding paragraph:

"It would be interesting to speculate upon the reputation that Kierkegaard might have attained, and the extent of the influence he might have exerted, if he had written in one of the major European languages, instead of the tongue of one of the smallest countries in the world. An idealism more powerful and more consistent than that of either Emerson or Carlyle, a democratic individualism as thoroughgoing as the aristocratic individualism of Nietzsche, and presented with an equally passionate intensity, an ethical voluntarism clothed in a literary form as persuasive as that of Schopenhauer's philosophy, and a species of pragmatism more carefully and thoroughly worked out than that of either James or Bergson—these qualities must have attracted world-wide attention. Yet, he himself believed that the limitations under which he was compelled to labor, and the consequent lack of any effective opposition from the outside, was a necessary factor in the peculiar development of his personality and one demanded by his peculiar task. Had he written in English or in German there would have naturally been enough significant opposition to have consumed a great part of his energy in external polemic. As it was, the outward opposition was negligible; he was compelled to set his own standard and to be his own critic. His reflection was thus turned inward in a greater measure than would otherwise have been possible; this he regarded as essential for the kind of literature it was his mission to produce. This literature will always remain in one sense a luxury; it does not have the kind of one-sidedness which would adapt it for the foundation of a school or the promotion of a movement. Nevertheless, it is bound to have an enduring significance, for it 'delineates the essential thought-determinations of life, and of individual existence, in a manner more dialectically precise and more emotionally primitive than anything comparable to be found in any modern literature.'"

While Kierkegaard has in his writings covered practically the whole range of human thought, with the possible exception of natural science, and while his esthetic productions especially have been written in a style so perfect as to win for them a place among the classics in modern Danish literature, still his main category is the religious and his purpose the testing of especially Christian values. Christianity was for him the religious absolute; but he considered the Christian religion more from its subjective than its objective side. "Christianity is sincerity," was one of his main theses. Most of his philosophical and psychological treatises concern Biblical truths. Because of the indirect method which he has used throughout, his writings are perhaps more thoroughly misunderstood than those of most religious thinkers. His peculiar stress on the subjective in Christianity brought him into an open conflict with the prevailing state church whose prominent leaders he accused of being insincere and hypocritical. His life became a protest against Hegelianism in its influence both on philosophy and religion and insofar he has been one of the early opponents of modernism.

The present new edition of Kierkegaard's works, published, of course, in Danish, has taken on the appearance, as exactly as possible, of the original edition published by Kierkegaard himself. The text has been revised and carefully compared with the original manuscript which is now kept in the vaults of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Apparent mistakes in the original edition have been corrected. The explanatory notes, which in the first edition appeared as footnotes, have now been added as a supplement to each volume. These notes have been made even more valuable by the addition of material which modern Kierkegaard research has brought to light. A feature of this new edition will be the special supplement which will be published in a final separate volume with detailed explanatory notes on the philosophical terminology which appears in the fourteen volumes of his *Collected Works*. These notes will explain not only Kierkegaard's own technical terminology, that is, the terms he has himself originated, but also such terms from contemporary philosophical writings which he has adopted and used. *The Journal*, which is being published simultaneously with this new edition of his *Collected Works*, is a necessary aid to the correct interpretation of his philosophy. *The Journal*, which will contain when complete as many volumes as his *Collected Works*, if not more, now has reached the ninth volume. As Volume VIII appears in two sections, there are really ten volumes now on the market.

If you wish to become acquainted with one of the master dialecticians of all times, a worthy successor of Socrates, a genius in the field of philosophy, the father of modern Danish literature, the creator of some of our finest devotional literature, a writer who will show you hitherto unsuspected values in the Christian religion, a thinker who has left a most profound impression on practically every phase of literature in Northern Europe, a study of whose writings is for this reason experiencing a distinct revival in Nordic literary and philosophical and religious circles, then procure and study this new edition of Kierkegaard's *Collected Works*.

In conclusion, let me say that Dr. Lange showed an intense interest in the work done by American scholars in this field. Both he and other European Kierkegaard scholars, like Dr. Alf. Th. Jørgenson, Dr. Eduard Geismar, Dr. Henry Ussing, all of Copenhagen, Dr. Torsten Bohlin, of Upsala, and Dr. Anathon Aall, of Christiania, to mention some of those who interested themselves in this subject, expressed the fervent hope that the American scholars would soon undertake the task of translating Kierkegaard's Works into English. Professor L. M. Hollander, of the University of Texas, has made the first attempt at this Herculean task by his translation of parts of "Either-Or," "Fear and Trembling," "Preparation for a Christian Life," and "The Present Moment," which appeared in the July 8, 1923, issue of the *University of Texas Bulletin*. Dr. David F. Swenson, of the University of Minnesota, has translated a very considerable portion of Kierkegaard's Works, but, for some reason, he has so far not permitted the publication of his manuscript. We know of no one who is so eminently qualified to do this work as is Dr. Swenson. He has the requisite knowledge of philosophy in general and Scandinavian philosophy in particular:

he has the religious background which is so necessary if one is to catch Kierkegaard's point of view: he is an American of Scandinavian descent and able to master the linguistic difficulties ever present: and, finally, we believe that he has the mechanical technique and literary style which must be combined in a faithful interpreter of Kierkegaard's peculiarly lyric prose which he uses so much. May we not hope that the American Scandinavian Foundation will in some way prevail upon Dr. Swenson to publish his translation and thus introduce to the English speaking world a literary and philosophic and religious genius, whose works have hitherto, because of their language, not been generally available.

N. M. YLVIKAKER

Minneapolis, Minnesota

**The Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement
of Scandinavian Study**

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met in the Classics Building, Rooms 20-21, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, on Friday and Saturday, May 1 and 2, 1925.

First Session, Friday, May 1, 2 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Jules Mauritzson. Professor James H. Tufts, Vice-President of the University of Chicago, extended in behalf of the University a welcome to the members of the Society. He called attention to the important place of Scandinavian studies in our schools, referred to their literary value, and spoke also on the strain of Scandinavian blood in Britain.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. A Note on *Voluspá*—10 minutes. By Dr. Alexander H. Krappe, University of Minnesota. Read by Professor C. N. Gould. Discussed by Professors Henning Larsen and Jules Mauritzson.

2. Björnson's *Mors Haender*. A Critical Study—20 minutes. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. Discussed by Professors Henning Larsen, Julius Olson, and O. E. Rølvaag.

3. Norwegian Elements in MS. Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43—20 minutes. By Professor Henning Larsen, University of Iowa. Discussion by Professors Geo. T. Flom, C. N. Gould, Julius Olson, and J. C. M. Hanson.

4. When a Novelist is in a Hurry—25 minutes. By Professor O. E. Rølvaag, St. Olaf College. Discussion by Rev. P. M. Peterson, Dr. F. W. Peterson, Professors Henning Larsen, Julius Olson, G. T. Flom, and J. C. M. Hanson.

5. The Didactic Purpose of Some Eddic Lays—15 minutes. By Professor Lee M. Hollander, University of Texas. Read by Prof. A. M. Sturtevant. Discussed by Prof. G. T. Flom.

There were twenty-five present at this session.

At six-thirty the Society had dinner at the University Commons. Prof. Geo. T. Flom served as toastmaster. Prof. Jules Mauritzson spoke of an increased interest in the study of Swedish. Prof. John M. Manly called to mind the beginning of the Society and noted the progress that had been made. Dr. F. W. Peterson gave some of his experiences of a year in Scandinavia. Prof. Julius Olson referred to the recent publication of Fredrika Bremer's 'America in the Fifties' as an indication of the great interest for Scandinavia in the first half of the 19th century in the United States. Dr. A. N. Anderson gave a sketch of the history of Scandinavian studies at the University of Nebraska. Prof. Philip S. Allen discussed the affiliated Germanic groups. Dr. Olga Gustafson was called upon to speak for the women of the Society. During the course of the evening Dr. A. T. Dorf and Prof. Julius Olson sang a number of duets from

'Gluntarne,' and Miss Karen Bruce rendered selections on the piano. The members of the Society joined in the singing of a large number of Scandinavian folksongs and national airs. There were twenty-five present at the dinner.

Second Session, Saturday, May 2, 9:30 a.m.

The business meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Jules Mauritzson.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was accepted together with the report of the Auditing Committee.

The report of the Editor was accepted.

The Society desires to express its sincere appreciation and thanks to the Local Committee for the excellent arrangements made for the entertainment of the Society, also to the University of Chicago and Vice-President Tufts for the welcome afforded.

Professor G. T. Flom reported for the committee appointed a year ago to find means for increasing the funds of the Society. Report of progress was accepted.

It was moved and carried to ask the members of the Society for an extra contribution, besides the membership fee, to be used for the publications.

It was moved and carried that the chair appoint a committee of three to serve as a finance committee to secure funds.

In recognition of Professor Julius Olson's services as a teacher of Scandinavian languages, it was decided to dedicate Volume VIII of *Scandinavian Studies and Notes* to Professor Olson.

Professor A. A. Stomberg was chosen to represent the Society at the Norse-American Centennial, to be held at St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota, Saturday, June 6, to Wednesday, June 10.

The following officers were elected:

President, Professor Chester N. Gould of the University of Chicago.

Vice-President, Professor M. L. Larson of the University of Illinois.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of South High School, Minneapolis.

Editor of Scandinavian Studies and Notes, Prof. A. M. Sturtevant of the University of Kansas.

Members of the Advisory Committee: for three years, Professor Adolph B. Benson of Yale University and Professor Jules Mauritzson of Augustana College; *for one year*, Prof. E. J. Vickner of the University of Washington.

The reading and discussion of papers was resumed:

6. Word-taboo: a Chapter in Folklore and Linguistics—30 minutes. By Professor G. T. Flom, University of Illinois. Discussion by Professors C. N. Gould, A. M. Sturtevant, O. E. Rølvaag, Dr. Einar Joranson, and Dr. A. T. Dorf.

7. The Poems in Victor Rydberg's *Vapensmeden*—15 minutes. By Professor Jules Mauritzson, Augustana College. Discussed by Prof. Julius Olson.

8. The Suiones of Tacitus—15 minutes. By Professor Kemp M. lone, Johns Hopkins University. Read by Prof. C. N. Gould. Discussion by Professors Julius Olson, Jules Mauritzson, C. N. Gould, A. M. Sturtevant, and G. T. Flom.

There were seventeen present at this session.

Adjournment.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*.

"NORSE" AND "NORSEMAN"
VERSUS "NORWEGIAN"

The readers of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES have no doubt noticed the curious substitution of "Norse" for "Norwegian" in a couple of recent school books, and perhaps also the designation "Norse-American Centennial" for the recent celebration in Minneapolis. Strictly speaking, this is a question of English philology; but I believe it is of sufficient interest to a Scandinavian-American audience to warrant a brief comment in SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES.

The assertion has been made that "Norse" is the etymological equivalent of "Norsk," and that it is rapidly supplanting the term "Norwegian" in the narrow sense of "Norsk," both in this country and in England. Furthermore, "Norwegian," it is contended, is a cumbersome and much mispronounced word; it is a younger, less venerable word; also, it has frequently a bad taste in the mouth of native Americans, wherefor it should as fast as possible be relegated to the scrap heap.

Personally I am convinced that all of these contentions can easily be proved to be erroneous, and in my mind the whole movement is founded on ignorance and a hazy unhealthy brand of the old Romantic spirit, which still seems to be thriving in certain Scandinavian-American circles.

Turning first to the etymological side of the question it is interesting to notice that Norwegian etymologists now seem to have reached an agreement with regard to the derivation of the word "Norsk." It is not, as supposed by Falk and Torp in their German work, derived from "Noregsk" but according to Professor M. Hægstad harks back through Middle Norwegian "Nornsk" (cf. Middle Low German "Nornsch") to "Norrøn," under the influence of the words: *svensk* and *dansk*. Professor A. Torp has adopted this explanation in his *Etym. ordbok*, and this ought to settle the matter.

As regards "Norse" it is clearly not as contended by some, a translation of *Nornsk* or *Norsk*, which latter regularly gave

Norish, a word cited by Murray (from 1688). Murray and also Weekley's etym. dictionary guess at influence from Dutch *Noorsch*, a variant of *Noordsch*, while Skeat, *Concise etym. dict.*, 1911, has: Norse (Scand.) "From Norw. and Danish, *Norsk*, Icelandic *Norskr*." But *Norsk*, as already mentioned, gave the form *Norish* and does not explain the ending *-se* instead of *-sh*.

I feel sure that Norman-French influence has been at work. Murray quotes the Old French forms: *Noreis*, *Norois*, *Norrois* (from Latin *Nor-ensis*) = *Norwegians* (quotations from 1275 and 1338), and "Norse" being first found in a work from 1598, there was ample time for such influence. *Norois*, *Norrois* and *Norse* are still found in French dictionaries in the sense of Old Norse or Nordic, and I for one have no doubt that the explanation of the form Norse must be sought here. It harks back to Anglo-Saxon *Norren* (= Old Norse *Norrøn*, whose first meaning is Nordic) and the French *Norois* (fem. *Noroise*). I may add that the excellent etymologist Professor Hj. Falk of the University of Norway in a private letter entirely agrees with this explanation of the word Norse.

Turning next to the meaning and semantic development of the word, it can hardly be denied, that the original wider sense of "Scandinavian" or "Nordic" has clung to it to this very day, and that in the narrow sense of "Norwegian" it is hardly ever used, except with a veiled Romantic reference to the sturdy vikings of the Middle Ages.

It is believed a plain fact that ninety-nine out of a hundred educated Americans instinctively use the word "Norwegian" in every case where a Norwegian uses the word "Norsk." Out of a dozen individuals with college education in the Library of Congress—among them two teachers in a local university—there was none who did not on the spur of the moment state that "Norse" and "Norseman" have a wider signification: Scandinavian, Northmen of the Middle Ages, Vikings, or in a linguistic sense: the old Norwegian-Icelandic language. They had, of course, most of them seen the current definitions in Webster, Standard, or the Century dictionaries, and they had not forgotten the drill of their school days.

But the plea has been lodged by the other side that the American dictionaries are inaccurate in this case, and we have particularly been referred to the well known historical dictionary edited by James Murray of Oxford; and yet nothing can be more misleading than to adduce this source as a witness for the contention that in England the word "Norsk" is generally rendered by "Norse," or that the latter is gradually ousting the word "Norwegian" from the language.

Any careful reader of the articles Norse and Norseman in the Oxford Dictionary will realize that the sentences quoted refer to the Middle ages or to the Old Norse language. Not a single example given deals with modern Norwegians or with Norwegian "Riksmaal," which latter, by the way, is not a true descendant of the Old Norse, but genuine Danish in Norwegian garb.

The quotations from Carlyle (1840): "Runes among the Norsemen," from R. Cowie (1874): "When nautical daring . . . had become so much developed in the Norsemen," and from W. Scott (1817): "Count Witikind . . . roved with his Norsemen the land and main," all clearly indicate the ancient Northmen or Scandinavians, or at least the inhabitants of Norway and its colonies in the Atlantic, and it must be a surprise to any trained philologist to see the term translated "Norwegians."

The most striking example of the loose methods of the collaborators of the Oxford Dictionary is, however, the treatment of the quotation from Hakluyt's "Collection of Early Voyages" (1598), the first authority cited for the use of "Norses" in the sense of Norwegians. Having become suspicious I went to the source, and in the extract from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin history, on page 3 of the Collection (edition of 1809), found the following: "Arthur which was sometimes the most renowned king of the Britains was a mightie and valiant man and a famous warrior. This kingdome was too little for him. He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are appertaining unto Norway."

The Latin text reads: "Subiugit igitur sibi strenue Scantiam totam, quae modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes insulas ultra

Scantium"; and a little below: "Occupaverunt vero Norwegienses terras multas & insulas regni huices," which Hakluyt translates: "The Norsemen have possessed many lands and islands of this empire." And on page 2 we read: "So that out of six islands, namely of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Norway and Denmarke the king had sixe score thousand souldiers sent him."

The above quotations clearly show that the term Norway (Old English: *Northweg*, *Norweg*, Middle English: *Norwey*, *Norwei*) as late as the beginning of the twelfth century was identical with Scantia, the later Scandinavia, including all of the Scandinavian Peninsula, which was still regarded as an island.

Similarly the old Norse "Norðrmaðr" (Old English: Norþman) originally signified all Scandinavians, who spoke the "Danish tongue" and made Viking raids on the British Isles, France, etc. But when the three Nordic kingdoms finally stood as well defined entities, it was of course, natural to apply the two words Norþweg and Norþman to the country and the people located farthest north.

The above quotations furthermore plainly show that "Norses" and "Norwegienses" here signify Scandinavians, not Norwegians in the restricted sense. And more interesting still, the same volume later, in quotations from A. J. Vidalin's *Brevis Comentarius de Islandia* (1593) and from Camden's *Chorographia*, where "Norwegienses" clearly designate the Norwegians proper, uses the terms "Norvagians" and "Norwegians."

We have then right here conclusive proof that the term Norse not merely is not any older than the term Norwegian, but also that from the very start it has a wider signification. A good deal older than both are the words *Norweis* and *Norwayes* (1200 and 1387 according to Murray) but all of those terms including the adjective *Norwegic* had to give way to the more euphonious *Norwegian*.

The main English support for the claim, that English usage differs from the American, having thus been discredited, it is probably superfluous to quote Scandinavian, German, English,

or French dictionaries, who practically all agree with leading American dictionaries.

We can then be fairly sure of the following facts. The word "Norse" is vague and ambiguous, but is appropriate and even needed in connection with the Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic languages, the old Nordic Viking raids, the Nordic mythology and the Norwegian-Icelandic discovery of America. Here it can not properly be supplanted by "Norwegian" or "Scandinavian" or "Nordic," which latter term has come more and more to have reference to the fair Nordic race, including the Anglo-Saxons and part of the German people.

The terms "Norwegian" and "Norwegians," on the other hand, which date back to at least 1598, have always been exclusively applied to things and persons strictly Norwegian. The words are unmistakably derived from *Norvegr* (later *Noregr*, *Norge*) *Norway*, etc., through Latin *Norvegia*, and have euphonious relatives in a number of European languages (German: *Norwegisch*, French: *Norvégien*, Italian: *Norvegiano* and *Norvegese*, Spanish: *Noruego*).

Under this pennant, the works of Ibsen, Björnson, Abel, Lie and Ossian Sars made their tour around the world in English-American consciousness. The two words followed, in English accounts, Nansen farthest North, Sverdrup to the Arctic regions north of the American continent, and Amundsen to the South Pole. These are all of them, in English thought, "Norwegian," not "Norse" achievements, honorable deeds, which have, so to speak, permeated the good word, which a few teachers of Danish-Norwegian are now anxious to relegate to the dust bin.

With regard to the contention that the word "Norwegian" is a much misspelled and mispronounced word, it is safe to say that in this respect it shares the fate of thousands of good English terms. The soft sound of *g* is particularly difficult to pronounce for most Germans and Scandinavians. But there is only one way out of this: to learn to pronounce all of the English sounds with the same ease. To start a warfare against certain words in a language, for the only reason that they are

difficult to pronounce by foreigners, is clearly as preposterous as it is futile.

I may add that the University of Christiania recently made a report to the Norwegian government on this very question, strongly advising against changing the name of the Norwegian legations in London and Washington to Norse legations. Nothing else could be expected from that learned body.

JUUL DIESERUD

*Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.*

*GUSTAF AF GEIJERSTAM IN THE FIELD OF
THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NOVEL*

Had Joseph Addison but substituted the word psychology when he expressed the wish that philosophy might be brought out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea tables and in coffee houses, one might feel that his ambitions have been realized to a miraculous degree. The terms once sacred to the scholarly psychological treatise or the psychical and pathological clinic have within the past few years been translated even into the vernacular of barbershops and beauty parlors, while one can scarcely pick up a modern novel without being confronted with Freudian expressions and psycho-analytical interpretations of character, brutally distorted or obscurely veiled, though they may often be. This psychological "complex" smirks mockingly at us through the characterizations of Hecht and Cabell; it crawls and writhes through the morbidly pornographic pages of D. H. Lawrence; it insinuates itself into the sophisticated subtleties of Michael Arlen, while in more dignified, yet perhaps no less obtrusive garb, it wanders through the voluminous introspective revelations of Marcel Proust. Thus assuming varied form it has apparently become for the present, at least, a cosmopolitan trait of fiction.

It is unreasonable to presume, however, that this curious phenomenon has sprung full armed from the brows of its contemporary exponents. Its lineage, whether one considers it noble or otherwise, may be traced through a long though more or less obscure line of ancestors. It finds its source in the wave of naturalism which spread through Europe in the 19th century, a naturalism which becomes more and more psychological as the century wanes, and a few men of thought, reacting against the mechanistic tendency following the scientific upheaval of the mid century, sought once more to adjust the claims of the ego to the new discovered facts of the external universe. In the Scandinavian countries this movement is exemplified in the writings of Ibsen, whose earlier naturalism assumes a mystical

and psychological turn. It colors the work of Björnson, and in its cruder aspects it is evident in the novels of August Strindberg. Closely associated with Strindberg is a Swedish novelist whose name is comparatively little known outside of his native land. This writer, Gustaf af Geijerstam, (1858-1909), stands in the Scandinavian countries as one of the foremost literary figures of the latter nineteenth century, a force not only in shaping the trend of the contemporary novel, but an influence in molding, through his keen powers of criticism, the thought of his day. He was a prolific writer, the author of eighteen novels, aside from numerous short stories, plays, and critical articles. Although his writings have intrinsic merit which makes them worthy of serious study, Geijerstam's most significant contribution to the novel lies in his interest in psychopathic interpretations of life at a time when such a method of analysis lay within a field unexplored by science no less than by literature.

Perhaps it is because there is in Geijerstam a temperamental aversion to systems and classifications, because he eludes the formulation of definite theories, that his contribution in this field has been so long neglected. He is never wholly the realist nor wholly the mystic; he never relies wholly on science, he cannot rely solely on faith, but he vacillates from one tendency to the other. When he finally throws himself into the psychological interpretation of life toward which he had always leaned, he still gives the impression of uncertainty; and the fact that he did actually evolve a fairly clear-cut theory of human action is evident only after a careful study of his works. Perhaps this strange contradiction in the nature of the novelist is after all typical of the Scandinavian character, in which, as Strindberg has suggested, influences from Persia and Central Asia may at some early date have tempered the pure Germanic heritage. Such a theory might help to explain the uncompromising paradoxes which we often find in the Scandinavian. His vision of life is clear, he is frank, honorable and truth loving, yet at the same time his fancy may lead him into superstition, bigotry and self-deception. Essentially optimistic and light-hearted though he is, an undercurrent of melancholy and

brooding introspection colors his thought with a darker tinge. Although a conservative by birth, he can on occasion break clean with tradition and adapt himself to a changing world.

Thus we find the Scandinavian Geijerstam in a sense plastic clay in the grip of the forces shaping the thought of his times, and yet through it all maintaining his individuality and gradually molding apparently conflicting influences and tendencies into a fairly well integrated philosophy consistent with his temperament.

When but a youth at the University of Uppsala we find him in revolt against academic traditions and the age-old established modes of thought which prevailed there. Like the hero of his supposedly autobiographical novel, "Eric Grane," the young Geijerstam refuses to allow himself to become standardized in a machine which he feels crushes in the youth all ideals and unselfish impulses, distorting the product into an automaton capable of seizing and holding its own in the ruthless struggle for existence, whether it be in the academic or the economic world. He has listened to lectures on Spencer, he has been moved by the voices of "Young Sweden," the criticism of Brandes has developed in him new ideas and standards of judgments. The call of the present, those challenging cries in the battle against the old ideas and customs that reverberated through the Europe of the 19th century, stir him to the soul. But all around him men continue to exhume the bones of the past, smug and lethargic in their established conventions and opinions. Filled with reforming zeal he attempts to combat the evils concerning which he feels so deeply, only to discover the mocking futility of his efforts. Bruised in spirit the young man asks himself the ancient question: "Is anything worth while?" and a negative answer forms itself in his warped mind. "It is clear that the men of the academic world regard me as a Philistine," he wrote despairingly in a letter to a friend at this time.

From the cramping atmosphere of the university, Geijerstam turns hopefully toward the city of Stockholm where old standards and principles were already being uprooted, and a spirit of unrest and expansion prevailed. At the time of his arrival in 1879 Strindberg was publishing his "Red Room"; "The

Doll's House" had just appeared; Björnson was waging his controversy with dogmatic Christianity and the criticism of George Brandes was making itself felt as a powerful force in the life and letters of the time. Geijerstam threw himself wholeheartedly into the new movement, identifying himself with the group known as "Young Sweden," writers who at that time were looked upon as ruthlessly iconoclastic, and menacing to the established order in society as well as in literature. He lived in a squalid attic room and he was extremely poor, but he was brimming with enthusiasm for new ideas and forms, and with antipathies for futile outworn conventions. It was at this time that he published his first book of short stories, "Gråkalt," tales brutally realistic somewhat in the vein of Strindberg.

But the eager restless spirit of the young writer did not find that for which it was seeking in the turbulent artificial, self-conscious life of the city any more than it had found satisfaction within the confining walls of Uppsala. Sophisticated city dweller and complacent scholar alike left him untouched. Restless of the standardization he saw in both of these aspects of life he turned instinctively to the humble peasant for that simplicity and freedom from convention which he craved. In 1883 he went to an island outside of Stockholm, and engaging a room from one of the peasant fishermen who lived at the edge of the open sea, he tried to mingle in the life of these simple folk, to study them at first hand. Although his cultivated tastes rebelled at the privations of this crude life, and he met with rebuffs and suspicions on the part of the peasants themselves, he kept steadily to his self-imposed task until he finally succeeded in gaining the love and confidence of these simple-hearted fishermen. Some of his most vivid realistic studies dealing with peasant life are the result of this experience.

Although Geijerstam met with success in the realm of the realistic novel he was apparently never completely satisfied in this field; for he is temperamentally something of a Romanticist. Perhaps he is that seeming paradox Joseph Conrad has called a Romantic-realist. A cold consistent realism repels him; he dares not face life with the blinds entirely removed from his eyes, and yet at the same time he longs to know life in its com-

pleteness. He lacks, however, the objective analytical eye of the realist, and, essentially religious in temperament, he resents the mechanistic conception of life which the science of his day sponsored and the realistic school of Strindberg had incorporated into its philosophy of human action. Science has destroyed for him, as for so many others, the idols of his youth, and he lacks faith and imagination sufficient to build a new structure which might completely satisfy the conflicting demands of his nature. Standing thus between two worlds "one dead, the other powerless to be born" Geijerstam gropes his way through the sloughs of materialism on one hand and the blind alleys of mysticism on the other, until he finally attains a fairly definite philosophy of life. Neither a materialist nor a mystic, he has nevertheless a keen vision, a sympathetic heart, an analytical mind, and a power of intuition, which, supplementing his observations, leads him to an interpretation of life that frequently aligns him in a surprising manner with our most modern psychological novelists.

From the time of his earliest realistic stories Geijerstam shows a keen interest in analyzing the forces within the mind and soul, those mysterious forces that unite and sever the bonds of human relationships. From the first his greatest interest seems to have been in characters which are in some way warped and perverted. Many of his people might serve admirably as subjects for a Freudian psychoanalyst; yet we must always remember that Geijerstam is writing before the Freudian theories have been expounded. Consequently his philosophy lacks system; he can scarcely be said to have a theory. Nevertheless the frequent occurrence of certain situations and the appearance again and again of characters of a pathological nature cause the reader to wonder whether, had he possessed just a little more self-confidence and a little more definite scientific knowledge he might not have brought forth some rather startling theories in the realm of psychopathy.

One of the situations which has a persistent attraction for Geijerstam is that in which an unnatural love exists between parent and child, the *Œdipus complex* of the modern psychoanalyst. Nowhere is this idea more boldly developed than in

one of his early novels, "Nils Tufveson och hans moder." Here we have an astoundingly frank study of the perverted love of a peasant woman for her son, and the murder of the son's wife because of the mother's evil influence. The situation here is so unnatural, the treatment so frank, and the motives so inadequately explained that the book as a whole fails to be convincing.

The later novels in which Geijerstam treats of the love of parent and child are more skilfully and delicately handled, yet they afford opportunity for psychopathic interpretation none the less. In "Boken om lille bror," supposedly the story of Geijerstam's own family life, the novelist pictures the wife, Elsa, as held to life only through her intense love for her little son, Sven. There is a lyric sweetness about the story of this absorbing love between mother and child; nevertheless, a note of morbid unnaturalness runs through the book. The little boy idolizes his mother and at the same time reveals a jealousy of his father and a desire to be the sole object of his mother's devotion. "And if, after looking at them a long time, I wished to join them," the father says, "Sven became jealous and puckered up his little red mouth in a manner that compelled mamma to rebuke his behavior toward the head of the family, and to tell him how kind papa was. This Sven did not like to admit at such times. And as we walked together, he managed to make signals to mamma which papa was not to see, just as it pleased him to maintain the magic circle of intimate confidence which he had drawn about his love and himself, and within which he brooked no intrusion." This passage might easily be a reference taken at random from a collection of Freud's illustrative cases. After the child's death Elsa becomes possessed of an intense will to die; even her deep love for her husband and her two other sons cannot hold her to life. She works herself into such an emotional state that the reader is made to feel it is her overpowering desire to rejoin Sven rather than her actual physical weakness which causes her death. Elsa stands as an extremely interesting and significant pathological study, apart from her relation to her child. Even before the birth of little Sven her soul is torn by conflicting forces, the

one impelling her to cling to life and those she loves, the other causing her to feel strangely detached from reality, and at times estranged from her husband because he fails to understand her temperamental aversion to life, her peculiar sense of otherworldliness. "There dwelt at the bottom of her soul," says Geijerstam, "a passion for completeness that could not brook life because it seemed to rest on a higher plane than life itself." One wonders if perhaps in these very lines may not lie the secret of Geijerstam's own rather enigmatical temperament. In his blend of romance and fact, of the material and the mystic, he seems to be seeking for a more complete life than experience actually yields.

There is in him a certain yearning for reality combined with a shrinking from the facts of life, a desire to escape into the realm of the imagination, that often makes him seem hesitant and uncertain as a writer. We are made to feel constantly that his vision surpasses his realization, and the result is an elusive wavering quality which makes it difficult to classify the man as thinker or novelist, while at the same time it keeps alive a keen interest in his sensitive reactions to all that he sees about him.

The peculiar bond between parent and child which has been discussed in "Lillebror" forms the central theme of Geijerstam's most impressive and powerful novel, "Kvinnomakt" which appeared in 1902. There, as Hugo Brenner, the gentle old scholar, unfolds before us the sordid and pathetic story of his thwarted life we feel a growing sense of admiration for Geijerstam's sympathetic understanding of the human heart and his peculiar insight into the mysterious workings of the human mind. "Vördnads känslan inför lifvet"—a sense of reverence before life—these words better than any others express the emotion which Geijerstam somehow conveys to his reader through the sympathetic regard with which he treats all the incidents in the life of this man who has lived through his "Sturm und Drang" period and has come out of it with an attitude of humble questioning before the sphinx-like problems of life, tempered by a quiet resignation to the inevitable. In his young manhood the hero, Hugo Brenner, a promis-

ing scholar, a man of high ideals, culture and refinement, has married, out of an exaggerated sense of moral responsibility, a little shop girl with whose life circumstances have entangled him. So inferior is the girl mentally and morally that the failure of such a marriage, in spite of Brenner's sincere efforts to place the mother of his child on an equal plane with himself, is inevitable. In portraying the character of Signe, Geijerstam seems to be influenced by the mechanistic conception of human conduct. He is apparently fatalistic in his belief that nothing can influence a human being to become anything other than birth and early circumstances have made of him. When Brenner realizes that an environment of affection and culture can never change the moral fibre of this girl of the streets, that she is indeed no better than a prostitute, he sends her out of his life and attempts to build up a home for his little daughter, Greta, and himself. Two threads of plot, at times separate, at times closely interwoven, run through the rest of the book, the relationship between the father and the little girl, and the relationship between Hugo Brenner and Elise Bohrn, the woman he loved before his unfortunate marriage.

The story of the love between father and daughter is told with an exquisite and sympathetic understanding of the child heart. Coming at an age when she could vaguely comprehend yet not fully understand the sordid revelation concerning the mother's waywardness, it made an indelible impression on the child's sensitive nature, awakening her precociously to a knowledge of the sorrow and ugliness usually not a part of child life. Her hatred for her mother is equalled only by the intensity of her love for her father whom she knows to have been hurt and deeply wronged. She feels that she alone can console him and atone for all that he has suffered. Her life comes to center wholly about him with a passionate devotion exclusive of all other loves, and jealously resentful of any other claims on his affection, even that of Elise, the woman Brenner has loved since early youth. In spite of the fact that after Brenner's fatal marriage Elise had become the wife of the banker, Karl Bohrn, for whom both she and Brenner have a genuine regard, she still cares deeply for Brenner with a love

that has ripened during the years of suffering which have intervened. The emotional adjustment demanded by this peculiarly complicated situation calls for skilful and delicate handling, and it is here that we see that unusual sensitivity to the claims of the individual which runs through all of Geijerstam's works. "The thing which now bound us three together, Elise, Karl Bohrn, and myself—and there was an element of beauty in it all"—says Hugo Brenner, "was that not one of the three of us would deliberately take his happiness at the cost of the happiness of another. Unlike so much that masks in the garb of individualism, taking its own regardless of others, to Geijerstam individualism has two sides, and not least important is an unselfish respect for the rights, the opinions, and the emotions of others, like that which it demands for itself.

Greta's death brings an overwhelming grief to the father, a sorrow in which Elise and Karl Bohrn share; but the reader feels that it offers the only possible solution to this dilemma. Life with its adjustments and compromises could only be unutterably cruel to this child whose intensely emotional nature has been so strangely distorted.

The problem of the relationship between Brenner and Elise has changed with the death of the child. In his rather audacious handling of the situation we are again impressed with Geijerstam's curious quality of individualism and courage to defy convention. Out of regard for Greta, Hugo and Elise have never spoken openly of their love, although they have maintained an intimate friendship. Despite a sincere regard for Karl Bohrn, an impelling sense of justice bring Elise and Brenner to openly confess their love in the presence of Elise's husband; thereafter, although Elise retains her position as Bohrn's wife, Brenner is recognized by both as her lover.

In "Kvinnomakt," as in all of Geijerstam's later works, the novelist is divided between attraction for the psychological which, because of inadequate knowledge, tends to become mystical, and a passion for clearness and power in the portrayal of the actual events of life. He fails to hold clearly to one viewpoint or the other. Seeing life in all of its infinite and bewildering variety he cannot limit himself to the singleness of purpose

which a great psychological motive demands. Not only does he at times wander off on lengthy introspective musings, but he has a tendency to introduce secondary figures who overshadow the essential figure. One sometimes feels that his technique as a writer has not developed parallel with his spiritual vision of life. As a result excess of emotion verging on cloying sentimentality occasionally mars his work.

In spite of all his failings, however, Geijerstam is significant not only as a representative writer of his period, but as a prophetic writer, strangely foreshadowing the development of the novel in our own day. His genuine understanding of the human emotions and his ability to interpret with a curiously intuitional power the conflict in man's mental and spiritual life entitle him to a position of prominence in Swedish letters, and a more widespread deference from the literary world at large than is at present accorded him.

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BJØRNSON'S MORS HÆNDER

Mors hænder, written in 1892, represents certain unique features in Bjørnson's art of story telling, which deserve special attention. The object of this paper is to point out the distinguishing features of this tale in their connection with Bjørnson's ideals and literary development. This seems all the more desirable inasmuch as Christen Collin¹ in his monograph on Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson does not (either in the older edition, 1907, or in the later edition, 1923) analyse *Mors hænder* nor seem to consider it as having any outstanding features worthy of mention.

As in the case of all Bjørnson's tales after the time of the composition of *En glad gut* (1859-60), there is infused into *Mors hænder* a social "tendenz." But Bjørnson never completely divested himself of his Romantic ideals and *Mors hænder* shows perhaps more clearly than any other of his tales the fusion of Romantic with Realistic elements. After the 60's Bjørnson joined the ranks of the social reformers, as his stories *Fiskerjænten* (1867-68), *Magnhild* (1877), *Støv* (1882), *Det flager* (1884), *En dag* (1893), *Absalons hår* (1894), etc. clearly show, but in none of these has he preserved the Romantic ideals of his youth with greater clarity than in *Mors hænder* (1892).

I shall first briefly discuss *Mors hænder* from the standpoint of 1) the Realistic and 2) the Romantic elements which in the story are fused into one organic whole.

1. The Realistic Elements

Under this heading we may consider the dramatic form of the tale and the elements of social reform. The latter phase of the work I have elsewhere² emphasized and shall, therefore, confine myself chiefly to the former phase of the story.

In *Mors hænder* Bjørnson has employed the analytical form characteristic of the social drama, that form which Ibsen had

¹ References in this article are to Collin's edition of 1907.

² Cf. "The Family in Bjørnson's Tales," *J.E.G. Phil.*, XVII, 1919, pp. 623-624.

already established as the norm for this type of drama. From a dramatic viewpoint we may consider the story as consisting of two acts, which are represented by the author's "two pictures" (*To billeder*).

The first picture represents the *Exposition*, i.e., the introduction to the two characters, Magne and her mother, and to their *present* state of affairs. Here the heroine is Magne, a young girl in the glory of youth, surrounded by a throng of enthusiastic admirers, living a gay, thoughtless life of pleasure, a social butterfly like Ibsen's Nora (*Et Dukkehjem*).

Not until the second "picture" does the action begin, which consists in the mother's narrative. This narrative is drawn thread by thread out of the past and woven into the present, exactly as is done in Ibsen's social dramas. Slowly the mother unfolds the past to her daughter, little by little approaching the present state of affairs until at last she reveals the message of her story in the moral lesson of her "unlady-like" hands, which furnishes the climax of the narrative. The second "picture" belongs entirely to the past but is co-ordinated with the present in its application to the daughter's social environment and ideals. From a moral viewpoint the story is a triumph for the defense of the primitive virtues, one essential feature of which is the dignity of labor, an ideal which Bjørnson later expounded in strictly dramatic form in *Laboremus* (1901).

2. The Romantic Elements

The romantic elements of the story are incorporated chiefly in the figure of Karl Mander, the priest, Magne's father and hero of the mother's narrative. An analysis of the Romantic elements of the story is, therefore, fundamentally an analysis of Karl Mander's personality.

From a study of Karl Mander's personality it would seem as if Bjørnson had started out with two fundamental features in mind, viz., naturalness and susceptibility to influence. The latter quality is in reality a necessary consequence of the former, but is emphasized by Bjørnson on account of the moral element ("tendenz") inherent in his story, i.e., fundamental virtues are preserved through the influence of a noble-minded woman.

Karl Mander is not only natural but from the description which Magne's mother gives of him we are prone to feel him to be in part a *personification* of nature,³ like "the strange sailor" in Ibsen's *Fruen fra havet*, rather than a real person of flesh and blood. He seems in fact to personify Norway as she appears in nature and in the elementary spirit of her people. So elementary is he that we feel him to belong to another era, the elementary Norseman of the Viking age translated into terms of modern life with its new ideals of Christianity; a tendency characteristic of the Viking drama and reflected also in Bjørnson's earlier tales during the Romantic period of his youth (cf. Collin II, pp. 157 ff.).

A child of nature, Karl Mander grasps by instinct the fundamental principles of conduct and religion; as nature without, so his soul within follows the law of its being which is fundamentally good.⁴ Thus he attains by natural instinct that which the sophisticated man of reason acquires only by long experience and labored thought. It is evident, then, that in the figure of Karl Mander, Bjørnson has reverted to the fundamental Romantic ideal, viz., that *nature* is the only safe and true guide to truth. *Sandhed og Natur* was the slogan of the Romanticists and an ideal which Bjørnson himself had espoused⁵ in the

³ Cf., for instance, the following passages:

"Øjnene fyldtes innenfra med brand, han stod foroverlutende som et træ i en bakke. Jeg tænkte rent ut sagt på skogen. Senere, da jeg kom ham nær, duftet også skog av ham."

"Der var en faun i ham. Naturligvis en nordisk faun, en uhyre skogmann, vildmann, overgiven, men uskyldig, førende to bjørner, en under hver arm! Ja, sådant noget. Ikke troll, skjønner du, de er så dumme og onde."

Note, too, that from the mother's description of Karl Mander, Magne (the daughter) infers a resemblance to the sea: "Det er jo intrykket av hav, mor!"

⁴ Cf. for instance, the following passage:

"Du siger 'uskyldig,' mor? Hvad forstår du ved at han var uskyldig? Han, som tillike kunde være så vill?"

"At intet skadet ham Han hadde en så stærk omdannelsesevne i sig, at hvad som ikke høvde hans natur, kom væk i den. Siden var det ikke med."

⁵ In *Morgenbladet* (March 3, 1856) Bjørnson writes in protestation of the untruthful features connected with Welhaven's characterization of the Norwegian peasant's spiritual life: "Natur! raaber tiden, sandhed og natur!" (Cf. Collin II, pp. 66-67).

earlier tales of his youth, such as *Synnøve Solbakken* (1857), *Arne* (1858), *En glad gut* (1859-60), etc.

This ideal of Karl Mander as the representative of virtue in its unsophisticated and primeval form, encompasses all the ideals which the mother expounds to her daughter. These ideals she has constantly practised and taught to her daughter; a phase of the social reform tendency fused with the Romantic ideal represented by Karl Mander. Here Bjørnson touches the question of heredity and, as in *Det flager* (1884), emphasizes education as the chief factor in its solution. Magne's mother here follows out Ibsen's social doctrine of the transmission of ideals from one generation to the other, which he so fittingly termed "idealernes forplantningsevne" (*Speech at Stockholm*, September 24, 1887).

In considering the figure of Karl Mander as the representative of the Romantic ideal of virtue the question naturally arises as to why Bjørnson should have represented Karl Mander as a priest of the church. I believe the answer to this question is a two-fold one, inasmuch as it seems to cover the two-fold nature of the work, viz., first, the element of social reform, and, second, the Romantic thesis regarding the nature of humanity and religion. Added to this we must consider third, the personal element which is so strong in Bjørnson's works and we must remember in this regard that Bjørnson's own father was a preacher. I shall here discuss these phases of the question in the order enumerated above.

1. *The Element of Social Reform*

A highly susceptible religious nature is especially prone to reactions. This tendency is in keeping with the naturalness of Karl Mander. He typifies *humanity* with all its weaknesses and beset with all its passions. The priesthood does not divest him of his natural passions any more than it did St. Paul who constantly struggled with "the thorn in his flesh." A striking parallel to Bjørnson's Karl Mander is Selma Lagerlöf's Gösta Berling. Gösta Berling is precisely the same type of Romantic character as Karl Mander, highly emotional and religious, a priest of the gospel, a naive and simple character, fundamentally

good in every respect, kindly, absolutely honest and sincere, innocent of wrong intentions, but woefully weak in himself, susceptible to influences good or bad and addicted to the use of strong drink. Psychologically then, Bjørnson is entirely justified in selecting a highly religious nature (*i.e.*, a priest) as a type of humanity peculiarly susceptible to influence. This type of man was necessary for Bjørnson's purpose in order to expound his thesis to the effect that the best in man is preserved through contact with a noble-minded woman, and so we arrive at one of Bjørnson's chief motivations (characteristic also of Ibsen's Romantic works), as Collin puts it (I, p. 135): "Den unge, varmhjertede kvinde som befrierinde for en mands orolige og farlige evner, det let kan blive baade til godt og ondt."⁶ Religious natures are most open to such influences and the fact that Karl Mander is a priest of the gospel heightens the dramatic conflict waged for the preservation of the good that is in him. His position in society would have made his defeat all the more regrettable. Thus, by endowing Karl Mander with the office of priest Bjørnson follows out the dramatic scheme of his story, *i.e.*, by the use of *contrast*.

2. Religion and humanity

Another reason—and one which seems to me fundamental—why Bjørnson endowed Karl Mander, as a Romantic ideal of primitive virtue, with the office of priesthood seems to me to lie in the nature of Bjørnson's own attitude towards religion. In the figure of Karl Mander Bjørnson has fused the Romantic ideal of humanity as a manifestation of nature with his own interpretation of Christianity as a manifestation of humanity. It is not necessary in this connection to enter into detail regarding Bjørnson's liberal view of religion. Suffice it to say that he was opposed to all the orthodox dogmas as a test of true Christianity which he interpreted as essentially a conduct of

⁶ In this connection the following passage in *Mors hænder* is significant:

"Vet du jeg tror at genier har dette troskyldige og ubændige. Det kommer derfor så altfor meget an på folk og forhold hvordan det går dem. Men fremfor alt på om de får en *kvinnes* hjælp. Som hjælpen er så går det." The italics are mine.

life. Now, by endowing Karl Mander, a typically human being, with the office of priesthood Bjørnson unites humanity with religion in accordance with his own view that religion is a manifestation of humanity and not a divine institution as the Orthodox Church maintained. The ideals of primitive virtue which Karl Mander's character represents are simply translated from Romantic into religious terms, *i.e.*, life and religion are one, even as nature (God) and man are one. Just as the fundamental virtues of man go back to the simple doctrine of nature, so Christianity goes back to the simple teachings of Jesus, and Karl Mander exemplifies both these ideals, for with him religion and life are one and the same thing. Bjørnson makes it very clear that Karl Mander, as a priest, follows the simple and fundamental principles of Jesus, even as he follows, as a man, the simple instincts of his own being; "Han gik om og gjorde godt." Karl Mander severely reprimands as cowardly and shameless any church which does not demand conduct as an essential to religion: "Han kallte kirken feig og skamløs, som ikke krævede dette uten personsanseelse." How far Karl Mander is here the author's mouthpiece we may judge from Bjørnson's own statement in regard to the Christian religion as set forth in the Introduction to the third edition of *Kongen*, 1877, (*Om åndsfrihed: Om angrepene på kristendommen*): "Det kan være nok så sundt i statskirkens land en gang imellem at minnes hvad kristendom er. Den er ikke en institution; ænnu mindre en bok; allerminst en samarie eller et hus. *Den er et liv i Gud efter Jesu forskrift og eksempel.*"⁷

In modern Norwegian literature the character of the preacher has played a most prominent part. Generally, however, we meet him either as a fanatic like Brand or Adolf Sang (*Over Evne*) or as a representative of the most narrow orthodox type like Pastor Manders (Ibsen's *Gengangere*). Most all the figures representing the office of religion have appeared as one-sided characters dominated by a single ideal, a fetish either of the institutional Church or of their own individual creation. They are never real, free human beings living in the present world and dedicated solely to service and humanitarian ideals. Tradi-

⁷ The italics are mine.

tion and their single-track minds force them into a world by themselves, which divorces religion from life. But in the case of Karl Mander we have a *man*, human like the rest of us, who makes religion a reality just because of his humanity. He is not an artificial creation of the Church or of any philosophical doctrine but a spontaneous product of human nature. In spite of his weaknesses he has all the simplicity of character which Pastor Sang (*Over Evne*) possesses, yet without the latter's fanaticism; he has the eloquence and at times the personality of a Brand,⁸ yet is without the latter's inhuman code of conduct. It is a tribute to Bjørnson's sanity and humanity that he has here selected the character of a simple man of the soil to carry the banner of the religious ideal. Karl Mander is, in fact, a unique figure in Norwegian literature in that through him the great ideal of the Church as represented by the office of priest or minister is rescued from the artificial, self-sufficient attitude of institutional religion and given over to humanity as an instrument whereby religion and life may be co-ordinated for real progress and happiness.

A similar attitude towards the priesthood is represented by the conversion of Ole Tuft (a priest of the narrow orthodox type) to humanitarian ideals in *På Guds veje* (1889).

3. The Personal Element

When we remember that Bjørnson modeled many of his chief characters after persons in real life, it would not be surprising if in the delineation of Karl Mander's character Bjørnson had in mind some person in real life. In this connection we are involuntarily reminded of his father, Peder Bjørnson, a Lutheran minister and a man of strong personality. We know from Collin's account (I, p. 43) that Bjørnson himself states that his father was reflected in the character of Sæmund (Thorbjørn's father in *Synnøve Solbakken*). According to Collin (*ibid.*) Bjørnson describes his father as "en retlinjet, usammen-

⁸ Cf. the impression which Brand makes upon Agnes who says of him (Act I), "Hvor han vokste, mens han talte" with that which Karl Mander makes upon Magne's mother who says of him: "Men likevel . . . gjennem det der alt sammen så jeg *guden*."—The italics are mine.

sat natur" and (I, 34) as possessed of enormous physical strength, two qualities which Karl Mander likewise possesses. These two qualities (*i.e.*, simplicity of character and physical robustness), common to both Bjørnson's father and Karl Mander, suggest the possibility that the familiar figure of his father hovered before Bjørnson's mental vision when he delineated the character of the priest Karl Mander.

But the parallel does not stop here. According to Collin (I, p. 43) Bjørnson states that his parents were brought together to a large extent through their weaknesses: "Man kan sige, at det var ikke mindst deres feil, som førte dem sammen." This was also the case between Karl Mander and Magne's mother, a parallel which supports the contention that Bjørnson may have had his father in mind when he created the figure of Karl Mander. It is also significant that in speaking of his parents' weaknesses and the resultant happy union Bjørnson added the significant thought: "Der er noget godt inde i feilene." Surely *Mors hænder* is a glorification of this theme. Magne's mother is first attracted to Karl Mander by his weaknesses and sees in her love for him a sacred mission to be performed, a mission born of woman's sympathy for the weak.

There is, therefore, not a little accumulative evidence that in the figure of Karl Mander and his relation to Magne's mother Bjørnson may have been influenced by his own personal reminiscences of home life.

In conclusion let me add an interesting fact which may throw some light on the genesis of the title *Mors hænder*. According to an account⁹ by Dr. E. Lindseth, the young Bjørnson had very fine, white, well formed hands and his comrades used to taunt him with liking to show them: "Hans kamerater ærtede ham med, at han gjerne vilde vise frem sine fine, hvide, smuktformede hænder—'herregud, om nu saa var!' " (Collin I, p. 166). Of course, the title *Mors hænder* may not have any connection with this episode but yet it is possible that Bjørnson was sensitive on this point and that the

⁹ Written by Linseth as a contribution to Bjørnson's twenty-fifth "digter-jubilæum" (1882) and later printed by Collin in his monograph on Bjørnson (I, pp. 165-187).

early impression which he received in this connection may have lingered with him in later years and suggested a title which otherwise might have been different. "Bjørnsons hænder" was no doubt an expression which he had often heard used in playful derision. *Mors hænder* is a glorification of hard labor and perhaps Bjørnson felt the sting of the insinuation in spite of the good-natured comradeship which prompted it.

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REVIEWS

THE LAXDAELA SAGA. Translated from the Icelandic with an Introduction by Thorstein Veblen. B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1925.

This translation is by none other than the distinguished economist and sociological free-lance, Thorstein Veblen. Master of a trenchant and stimulating style for his own refreshing thoughts—witness his “Theory of the Leisure Class” and “Higher Learning in America”—he no doubt sensed the great verbal art of the sagas, unrivalled in some respects even now, and was intrigued by the very difficulties of the task into Englishing one. Beyond that, I imagine, he has with this work of love wished to repay a debt of gratitude to the land of his ancestors.

The result is one of the best translations of an Icelandic saga which we have. It avoids, on the one hand, the affectation of a too modern, fluent manner and, on the other, the overloading of the medium with indigestible, stodgy archaisms à la William Morris. It is ‘spirited’ in the best sense. And, if my colleagues here and abroad will allow me to say it, I suspect that the advantage enjoyed by the translator lay precisely in not being hampered by the meticulousness of the professional.

In comparatively few instances only did I find a rendering faulty, or objectionable through a mistaken leaning toward raciness or smartness. The Icelandic yeoman spoke to the point, drastically; he did not use slang or its equivalent. During my perusal I noted the following peccadillos of one or the other kind.

To translate *hersir rtkir* (chap. 1) by “a country gentleman of large means” is most unfortunate as conveying a totally false impression.

The proverb *ulfar eta annars erendi* (chap. 23) should be rendered, simply: ‘Don’t depend on others!’ instead of by the rather left-handed: ‘delegated business goes to the wolves.’

Setgeirr (chap. 35) signifies the extra piece in the ‘seat’ of the trousers, not ‘cod-piece’ (which, rather, provides for the anterior protuberancy).

To render *bryntroll* (chap. 37) by ‘martel-de-fer’—so far as the average reader is concerned—is to render *ignotum per ignotius*. For that matter, ‘halberd’ is more correct.

‘Hellions’—picturesque enough—for *heljarmenn* (chap. 39) must be set down to Veblen’s account. The Century Dictionary knows no such word.

Hann vægði í qllum fyrir þeim frændum, þess er hann minkaði sik í engu (chap. 52): ‘he yielded in all parts before his cousins, so far as he could without losing face.’ Better: ‘short of humbling himself.’

Óauðsættligt (chap. 54), ‘a tough job.’ Better: ‘a difficult undertaking.’ *við heljarmann slíkan* (chap. 57): ‘with such a hell-bent ugly customer.’ Better: ‘With such a blackguard.’

Kaupeyri mun ek þér fá (chap. 58) means, simply: ‘I shall equip you with trading-goods.’ There is no such English idiom as ‘I shall find you in trade-goods.’

At tvímánaði (chap. 59) Veblen translates 'in the Twimonth.' There is no such English word. It should be rendered 'in the fifth (double-month) of summer.'

Vex mér ekki í augu at stinga af einhvern þeirra eða báða tvá (chap. 60). The rendering: 'I will make no bones about bumping off one or both' is only vulgar.

Fullir ofkapps (chap. 61) 'full of spunk.' Better: 'overbearing.'

Glaðel (chap. 77) is not an 'anlace (short sword),' but a 'javelin.'

Brósti at litinn þann (chap. 84). The translation 'grinned at the little fellow' is capital, but unfortunately incorrect. *Litinn þann* simply means 'a little.'

With regard to the (unusually few) *lausavísur* of this saga it would have been wise to consult Finnur Jónsson's 'Skjaldedigtning' or Kálund's editions, both as to text and translation. By so doing, regrettable errors of translation and bad misprints could have been avoided. To give only one example, the very simple verse spoken by Auðr when the notice of divorce is suddenly served on her

*vel es ek veit þat,
vask ein of láten*

should be translated 'it is well I should know it, I was left alone'; and not (incomprehensibly) 'if only I had the chance'!

Likewise a study of realia will quickly convince one that the *qndvegissúlur* do not face the main entrance of the hall (p. 5, note).

The footnotes are good, and fairly plentiful, at first, but dwindle in numbers so that the latter half of the book has none.

Consistency in the handling of proper names is not achieved. It is, admittedly, a matter of extreme difficulty. And even if all names could be adequately Englished it might not be advisable to do so. Still, many (to us) uncouth appellations could have been avoided. Thus, not to mention dozens of others, why should not *Langavatzdálr* be made to sound a bit more familiar as Langwaterdale; *á Hals*, as 'on the ridge'—'at the Hals' means nothing to us; and Snorri goði, as 'Snorri the Priest'? And, by the way, *Hellu-Narfi* is not 'Narfi the Caveman'—capital—but one who got his name from the farm *Hella*.

The rather longish foreword shows the preoccupation of the author with his chosen subject. To him, the saga appears in the light of a sociological document. Such it is, to be sure, among other things, and there are some acute observations made in this connection; together with some generalizations wide of the mark (especially concerning the Christianization of the North). In the main, this saga is by all means most interesting to the modern reader through its masterly delineation of character and its unusual emotional tinge. In a book such as this is meant to be, a little less sociology, and far more expressed appreciation of the saga man's art, would have been in place.

But, to return to the translation as a whole, it is admirable. It should be placed in every collection of Scandinavian books.

L. M. HOLLANDER

University of Texas

M. B. LANDSTAD: Folkeviser fra Telemarken, utgit av Knut Liestøl. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1925.

The volume of Telemarken ballads just published by Professor Liestøl constitutes the oldest collection of Norwegian ballads now extant. It is based on manuscript collections of M. B. Landstad discovered two years ago and at that time incorporated in the archives of the Norwegian Folklore Institute.¹

The collection now printed contains twenty-seven ballads and two collections of "stev." They have been recorded in the Telemarken dialect, though in a somewhat halting fashion as to phonology and spelling, for in Landstad's day none of the intensive studies of dialects had been made, and Landstad himself was no trained philologist. Most of the ballads are from the neighborhood of Seljord, where Landstad became resident pastor in 1840. Professor Liestøl cites Landstad's own statement that the serious work of collecting was begun in 1840 or 1841, not as often claimed, during Landstad's stay at Kviteseid 1834-1840. The volume now published contains old favorites, familiar to all from earlier printed versions, like Asmund Fregdegjævar, Droumekvædi, Sigurd Svein, Roland aa Magnus Kongjen, Mindre Alf, Haugebonden, Dalebu Jonson, and so forth. The text is that of Landstad's first draft for a proposed edition prepared in 1845 or 1846; it is printed without changes and without emendations except for a few absolutely necessary normalizations of spelling, all of which are accounted for in the notes.

The significance of the present collection can best be expressed in the editor's own words: "In 1845 or 1846 Landstad made his first draft of his ballad-edition. It is this draft that is printed in the present edition. It is of great interest not only because it contains a series of our best ballads, but because it is the oldest collection of Norwegian ballads preserved—and with the exception of Olea Croger's (now lost) collection of 1842—it is the oldest Norwegian collection we have any record of. . . . As the texts are not "restored"—at least not to any great extent—this first draft of Landstad's gives us an excellent view of ballad tradition of Mid-Telemarken in the forties of the last century."

Particularly significant is the fact that the text is "not restored." One of the very serious criticisms of Landstad's published texts in his volume *Norske Folkeviser* 1852-1853 is that a normalization of the language and a harmonizing of different versions without proper indication of actual tradition has made it impossible to get at the text as it was sung among the people. The preservation of Landstad's earlier work to a certain extent vindicates his edition; but where the latter was at fault the older collection does much to rectify the impression given by Landstad's published text. It gives a truer picture of the state of tradition—already failing in many ways—than any we have had before.

The present volume is then the first-fruits of the investigation of Landstad's papers. Professor Liestøl's promptness in getting this to the public deserves acknowledgment. The well known soundness of his work in ballad and folklore gives us all confidence that the present text has been thoroughly studied and accurately presented. It is to be hoped that Professor Liestøl or his assistants may soon find time to give us whatever else is of interest from the documents discovered.

HENNING LARSEN

Iowa University

¹ Knut Liestøl, *Tidens Tegn*, Jan. 19, 1924; Henning Larsen, *The Rediscovered Landstad Manuscripts*, 'Scand. Stud. and Notes,' vol. VIII, p. 84.

² Introduction, p. xii.

JULIUS EMIL OLSON

It was a most fitting thing to do when at the last annual meeting our Society resolved to dedicate this volume of the *STUDIES* to our fellow member and colleague Julius E. Olson. In point of service he has been in the profession as an Instructor and Professor of the Scandinavian Languages longer than any one else in the country, forty-one years last June. It has been a career of high teaching success and many splendid achievements. Students have always found in him a kind and sympathetic counsellor, qualities that have long ago won for him a more secure place in the hearts of his students than falls to the lot of most. He has been an inspiring teacher and interpreter of Norse literature; he has been broad-minded in his relation to other lines of study; he has been reliable and efficient in whatever service or undertaking he has been engaged. In his long educational career, he has been among the leaders in the field of his choice, the interpretation of Scandinavian literature and culture to Americans. The Society has wished, in this modest way, the only way that its finances permit, to honor Professor Olson for the devotion he has shown in this work and for his notable achievement in it. Professor Olson, we herewith greet you and thank you from the depths of our hearts!

Professor Olson was born November 9, 1858, at Cambridge, Wisconsin. His father, Hans Olson, was from near Drøbak, Smaalenene (Østfold); his mother, whose maiden name was Karen Fjeld, was born in Nordre Land, Norway. They came to this country in 1852, settling in Cambridge, where they celebrated their golden wedding in 1889; there were ten children that grew to maturity. Julius Olson graduated at the University of Wisconsin in 1884. He was then offered an Instructorship in Scandinavian Languages and German, which he accepted. During this time he had the opportunity of studying Old Norse with Jón Bjarnason, later Bishop among the Icelanders in Manitoba, and with Bertel Gunnlaugson, and he gave courses in Icelandic as well as in Norwegian and Swedish. He was made Assistant Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literature in 1887, and has been Professor since 1892. It will not be possible here to speak of his work of teaching or the building up of the Scandinavian collection at the university; but I shall mention at any rate his own excellent, well-selected, personal library, which in my student days at Madison I often had the privilege of using, a privilege that I prized highly and benefited much from.

Non-teaching Service. Olson has frequently been a member of university committees and he has served the University in many capacities. He was University Editor from 1900-1907, and he has been chairman of the "Committee on Loans and Undergraduate Scholarship" since 1905. He has been chairman of the "Committee on Public Functions" since 1887. As such he has managed all the university's great functions for 38 years; and there have been many programs of great dignity and distinction during this time. Aside from the commencement programs there have been the dedication of the Lincoln Monument, the dedication of various buildings, and memorial exercises for distinguished members of the faculty. As chairman of this committee Olson originated the "Varsity Welcome," which has been given every year since 1913.

Activity in literary clubs. Olson has taken a prominent part in the literary life of Madison. He has been president of *Fggdrasill*, and of the *Language and Literature Club* of the University. Before these and before *Gudrid*, and the *Madison Literary Club* he has often read papers on Norse writers and historians. I list here those before the Madison Literary Club: in 1894, "Norway's Struggles for Political Liberty"; 1896, "Arne Garborg and Literary Currents in Modern Norway"; 1899, "Jonas Lie, the Norwegian Novelist"; 1903, "The Norwegian Poet Henrik Wergeland"; 1907, "Henrik Ibsen"; 1911, "Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson"; 1917, "Munch, the Norwegian Historian"; 1924, "Lincoln's Milwaukee Address in 1859." He gave a lecture on Bjørnson December, 1915, before the Woman's College Club, Cleveland, Ohio.

Papers before educational associations. Professor Olson is a charter member of *The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study* and was one of the signatory inviting members at the time of organization; he was the Society's first president, serving a double term. He has regularly had charge of its evening musical programs, and has most often been the Society's toastmaster. Before its sessions he has often read papers. The following formally prepared papers, as not having been printed, will here be mentioned: Norwegian Poetry and Linguistic Reform, 1914; Subconscious Elements in the Composition of Peer Gynt, 1916; The Duality of Jonas Lie in his Authorship, 1920; Second Intentions in Ibsen's *Rosmersholm*, 1921; The Teaching of Scandinavian Literature to Non-Scandinavians, 1922. Here may be listed also a talk on Ibsen's *Rosmersholm* at the time of the Society's meeting in May, 1921, but given before the faculty and students of St. Olaf College, Northfield. Here belongs also the address on "Great Literature in Education" before the annual meeting of the *Minnesota Educational Association* in November, 1921; and finally a lecture on "The Scandinavian Mind" delivered at Northwestern University, March, 1915, under the auspices of the *Philosophical Society*.

As a Public Speaker. For thirty-five years Olson has been one of the leading orators on the 17th of May, and the 4th of July, among the Norwegians of this country. And he has delivered numerous addresses before large assemblages on other kinds of occasions. In all I estimate the number to be ca. 100. Many of these addresses have been printed wholly or in part in the local press; and there has invariably been fine testimony to his pleasing manner, his humor, his energetic delivery, and the excellent literary quality of his address. He is at home on the forum as few of our profession. This aspect of Olson's professional career should rightly be stressed. His addresses have been a Scandinavian educational contribution of distinct value, and of much influence among both Americans and American-Scandinavians throughout the Northwest during these thirty-five years. He gave his first 17th of May address in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1887, and his second the next year in Minnesota. He himself regards his best 4th of July address that delivered before the Norwegian citizens of Duluth, Minnesota, in 1913. The outstanding address on other occasions was, perhaps, that before the *Norwegian National League*, Chicago, at the *Leif Erikson Festival* in September, 1923.

Travels and Professional Friendships. Olson first visited Norway in 1903, spending the summer there. It was the year of the *Abel Fest*, and Olson was a delegate from the University of Wisconsin. The Abel celebration was a notable one; there were dinners given by the City of Christiania (Oslo), by the University, and by King Oscar II. Olson on this occasion formed the acquaintance of Prof. Gustav Storm, Dr. Christen Collin, and Dr. Halfdan Koht who are the scholars that he has come in closest contact with in Scandinavia. He was in Norway again in 1910 and went then as far north as the North Cape, also travelling in Sweden and Denmark, and in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France. During the Christiania University Jubilee Year, 1911, Olson received an official invitation to visit the University and give a series of lectures, and a stipend was offered to be placed at his disposal for that purpose. There were two such stipends established, the other one was offered to Professor C. K. Preus, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. Professor Olson was, however, not able to go.

Published Books; and articles and reviews in educational journals. Olson has not published many works, his activity has been mainly elsewhere as has been shown. And also his teaching duties have been too exacting and too arduous to leave any time and energy for writing. But what he has done in this domain has revealed the conscious workman, and the earnest searcher for truth. In his edition of Ibsen's *Brand* his achievement was much more than that of producing a good college edition; the edition represents a real contribution to knowledge of the drama, and the text of the drama. This was at the time recognized widely by reviewers, and in regard to the text it is brought out again in an article in *Morgenbladet* Oslo, Norway, under date of March 15, 1916. His *Brand* is Olson's chief work. But his *Norwegian Grammar and Reader* must also be especially noted here. Unfortunately, the changing orthography of *Riksmåal* and also consequent modifications in the presentation of the forms has long ago relegated this text-book to the reference shelf. But it is the only Norwegian grammar so far written in this country which is at all suitable for university classes in elementary Norwegian. The *Grammar and Reader* brought down to date in spelling, and in some parts under forms would, no doubt, again come to be widely used.

In the Bibliography I have included also two addresses, as numbers 4 and 7, since these were printed in pamphlet form.

GEORGE T. FLOM

University of Illinois

Supplement: Publications and Principal Addresses of Professor Olson.

A. Publications

1. "Norway's Struggles for Political Liberty." *New England Magazine*. June, 1893.
2. *Norwegian Grammar and Reader*. Chicago, 1898. Pp. 330.
3. *Vitus Bering, the Discoverer of Bering Strait*. Translated from the Danish.
4. *Leif Erikson og Amerikas Opdagelse. Et Foredrag*. Madison, Wis., 1906. Særtryk af *Minneapolis Tidende*.
5. "The Voyages of the Northmen," edited by Julius E. Olson, for Vol. I of *Original Narratives of Early American History*. New York, 1906.

6. *Brand* by Henrik Ibsen. Edited with an Introduction and Critical Notes. Chicago, Illinois, 1906. Published by John Anderson & Co. 2nd edition, 1912, (Reviews in *The Dial*, Chicago; *Minneapolis Journal*; *Decorah-Posten*; *State Journal*, Madison, Wisconsin; *Ny Tid*, Minneapolis; *Dagbladet* Christiania; *Aftenposten*, Christiania; by Dr. Laurence M. Larson, in the *Milwaukee Free Press*, by James O'Donnell Bennett, in the *Record-Herald*, Chicago; by Juul Dieserud, in *Skandinaven* and by George T. Flom in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1909, pp. 279-282. (The issue and page references in the case of most of above reviews cannot be ascertained as this is being prepared.)
7. *The Teutonic Spirit*. An address. K. C. Holter Publishing Company Minneapolis, Minn., 1912. Pamphlet, pp. 17.
8. "Present Aspects of the Vinland Controversy," *Publication of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, 1913, Vol. I, pp. 147-156.
9. Review of *The King's Mirror*. Translated from the Old Norwegian by Laurence Marcellus Larson, New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1917, in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. V, pp. 15-20 (1918).
10. "Gerd, the Hawk, and the Ice-Church in Ibsen's *Brand*," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, 1921, Vol. VI, pp. 127-133.
11. "Jonas Lie." Introduction to *Scandinavian Classics XIV*. Translation of Jonas Lie's *The Family at Gilje* by S. A. Eastman. Introduction by Professor Julius E. Olson. The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1922.

B. Principal Lectures and Addresses

1. English address at the First Leif Erikson Festival in Chicago. October, 1891.
2. "Festtale, den 17nde Mai." Norway's Day, at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.
3. Address at Sioux City, Iowa, before the Northwestern Scandinavian Singers Association, July, 1894.
4. Address on the 17th of May. Chicago, 1895.
5. Address on "Norsk Litteratur" at the Amundsen Banquet (Twenty-fifth Anniversary, 1899).
6. Address (in Norwegian) before *Det norske Selskabs Fest*, in Minneapolis, September, 1903.
7. Address (in Norwegian) on the 17th day of May, 1905 (Three weeks before the separation of Norway and Sweden).
8. "Leif Erikson og Amerikas Opdagelse." Foredrag holdt ved "Sonner af Norge's" *Leif Erikson Fest* at Normanna Hall, Minneapolis, Nov. 11, 1906.
9. "The Teutonic Spirit." An Address delivered on the Occasion of the Unveiling of a Statute to Rollo of Normandy, N. Dakota, July 12, 1912.
10. Address on a Memorial Gift to Norway. Delivered at the Fair Grounds, St. Paul, July, 1913.
11. Address on the Fourth of July, Duluth, Minnesota, 1913.
12. Address on "Den 17nde Mai, 1814," Brooklyn, New York, 1914.
13. Address at Dedication of the Sons of Norway Building, Minot, N. D. January, 1916.
14. Address on "Col. Hans C. Heg," at Muskego Church, July 29, 1917.
15. Address on "Luther and his Century," at Madison, Wis., September, 1917. The 400th Anniversary of the Reformation.
16. Address on "Abraham Lincoln" at Minneapolis (before Sons of Norway), February 12, 1920.
17. Address on the 17th of May, Canton, S. D. 1920.
18. Address on "Ibsen's *Brand*," Grand Forks, N. D. May, 1920.
19. Address before the Norwegian National League, Chicago, September, 1923.
20. Address on "The Norwegian Pioneers," at Albion, Wisconsin. As part of the Centennial Celebration, June, 1925.

JULIUS OLSON, 1893-97 AND LATER

The old Roman saying, "De mortuis nil nisi bonum" betrays a conception of historiography with which the writer is not in sympathy. He would not apply it to the dead, and certainly not to the living. He knows, moreover, that were the tables turned, he the subject, and the subject of the present sketch the writer, the same principle would be rigidly adhered to. In presenting these brief impressions and observations of Professor Olson, based on four years of rather close association at the University of Wisconsin, 1893-97, and casual meetings since, he will therefore resist any temptation to conceal, omit, color or distort; in other words, he will scrupulously avoid the methods of the average historical text book.

It was in August, 1893, that I first met Olson. He was then nearly 35, and might accordingly be classified with the Genus Homo popularly known as "*Baccalareus juvenalis*." Like most of those who hail from eastern Norway, i.e., "East of the Mountains," the writer was rather reserved, slow to express an opinion, but a good listener. He realizes now that such a person joining the staff of the University at that particular time, must have been to Olson, with his exuberant temperament and intense desire to impart to some sympathetic soul his plans and ideas, what the Germans call, "gefundenes Fressen." It was not long, therefore, before he became a frequent, and as he had reason to believe, a welcome visitor, to the bachelor apartments, then occupied by Olson and located a square to the south of the Capitol, in a building occupied by Mrs. Moore (Aubert Forestier), the collaborator with Valborg Hovind Stub in "Songs from the North," a publication which has done so much to introduce music of the Northland into American homes, particularly the homes of Americans of Norwegian extraction.

Many of the evenings spent in Olson's study now stand out as among the most memorable and worthwhile of my four years in Madison. With particular pleasure do I recall the occasions when he had received a consignment of books from Norway and had found something which had kindled his enthusiasm and which he must share with some kindred spirit. He would then read selected passages or sections, as only he could read them, accompanying his readings with a running fire of remarks and comments. While he gave the impression that he disliked interruption, it was also evident that he was not entirely satisfied with one who failed to respond readily and show that sympathetic enthusiasm which he loved to kindle in his hearers. The unemotional, slow thinking, and taciturn type of Norwegian did not appeal to him, and this may explain why he soon after our first acquaintance, fastened on me the epithet "Såpekoker," a term which does not lend itself readily to translation, but probably implies a certain lack of mental alertness. The humorous twinkle of the eye which always accompanied his customary greeting, removed, however, any sting which it might otherwise have carried, and it is almost with regret that during our casual meetings of late years, its omission has been noted. Is it possible that even Olson, the very personification of perennial youth, is beginning to feel the weight of advancing years?

Particular mention has been made of these evenings in Olson's study because of their lasting impression on me. I have listened to Olson in the class room, in conferences and debates, and when addressing large audiences. On such occasions he was always well prepared, often brilliant, invariably ready and fluent, but never did he succeed in kindling in me that enthusiasm which I carried away from some of those informal and impromptu sessions in his apartment on Monona Avenue, and I take this opportunity, though long deferred, to express my thanks. Quite unconsciously, perhaps, he managed to reawaken an interest in Norse Literature and music in one who, after having received his first impressions and impulses from men like Oluf Breda and Thrond Bothne, had been in danger of losing all contact with Scandinavian culture, due to lack of association with those who still maintained these interests. If all who have at some time or other been similarly impressed by Olson, were to record their experiences, the resulting "Festschrift" would fill not only one, but many volumes.

There is no question that already in the early nineties, Olson was an outstanding figure among the residents of Madison of Norwegian extraction. To appreciate what this meant, one must recall some of the other shining lights of the Wisconsin capital at the time. There were, for instance, R. B. Anderson whose home was always a center of Norwegian culture, a man of strong character and pronounced opinions, aggressive and with unlimited faith in himself and his mission; P. O. Strömme, journalist and author, a carefree and roving spirit, lovable, full of humor, eloquent and fascinating, but erratic; F. W. Woll, one of the greatest authorities in agricultural chemistry, intensely interested in Norwegian music, art, and literature, his home also a veritable Mecca for Madisonians with cultural interests similar to his own; Professor Storm Bull, head of the Department of Engineering, closely related to Ole Bull and Edvard Grieg, in spite of his important and exacting duties, always willing and eager to participate in social and cultural activities which had as their aim, the preservation of the art, music, literature, and history of the Scandinavian North. Others were Halle and Edward Steensland, John A. Johnson, John Ollis, and Rev. Theodor Eggen. A young undergraduate might well be mentioned in this connection, Hjalmar Ruud Holand, who would occasionally visit us of a Sunday afternoon and who showed even then by his often brilliant discussions of what he considered his mission in life, and by his bitter denunciations of a world, cold, unappreciative, unsympathetic, and slow to recognize the budding genius, that he was years in advance of the majority of his fellow students.

Among all these Olson was a natural leader. It was due to his energy and initiative that the literary society, *ygdrasil* was organized, a society which has survived to this day and accomplished much in preserving the best traditions of Norse culture and hospitality in Madison and its immediate environment.

Olson was an enthusiastic admirer of Norse music. Wennerberg and Beilman were among his favorites. With his high baritone, almost a tenor, he sang "Magisteren" in "Gluntarne" with great bravour. Any one with a

semblance of a deep bass was sure to be pressed into service for the part of "Glunten."¹

Olson remained unmarried until shortly before my departure from Madison in 1897. It was not, therefore, my good fortune to observe him as the head of a family and household. On the occasion of his last visit, his interests seemed to center on such prosaic things as garden tools and household utensils. He and Professor Woll, who was also present, became quite eloquent in trying to prove the utter absurdity of transporting to semi-tropical Washington, such things as axe, saw, skis, etc. The result was that the last I saw of Olson was when he marched proudly down Johnson Street, carrying my axe, saw, and sawbuck, also hoe and rake, Woll trailing after with a pair of skis over his shoulder.

Olson was, and still is, for that matter, a great believer in publicity and an energetic assertion of oneself in the institution and the community. He had unlimited self-confidence, was aggressive, a ready speaker and debater. He had scant patience with associates, less successful than he in combating that inherent reserve, that tendency to backwardness, so characteristic of many Norwegians, particularly of those who show less trace of Celtic and other West or South European strains. His aggressiveness and somewhat brash assertion of self has at times been construed as a weakness for the spotlight. A more generous interpretation should occur to his critics, viz. that his absorption in a new plan or idea is so intense that for the time being it becomes apparently impossible for him to give heed to the affairs and interests of others. The writer is probably not the only one who has left Olson's office without having had the slightest opportunity to broach the subject of his errand, because he came at a time when Olson was fairly exploding with some new idea which must be discussed from every conceivable angle before he could give a moment's thought to any other subject. Several incidents come to mind which might serve as illustrations. One, a recent one and fairly typical, will suffice. A few years ago a niece of mine was attending the University of Wisconsin. Being blessed with ample means, and having some social ambition, she asked my advice as to the best way of securing entrée into some university sorority. I gave her a letter of introduction to Olson. On her return to Chicago I happened to ask about the result of her interview with him.

"Oh," she said, "he glanced at the letter and laid it aside. He then proceeded to tell me all about his department, what he was doing and what he hoped to do. It was very interesting, of course, although I did not grasp all of it. At any rate, he kept on talking without a let-up until it was time for him to go to some meeting. The sorority affair was never referred to, but some time later I received an invitation to visit his house and found there a large party, made up chiefly of students of Norwegian parentage, and we certainly did have one glorious time."

¹ A series of duets for baritone and bass, text and music by Gunnar Wennerberg. These duets depict student life at Upsala in the middle of the 19th century. "Magisteren," the baritone, represents the older, more experienced student; "Glunten," the bass, the younger student who has recently entered the University.

While discussing what may be termed his shortcomings, it may not be amiss to touch lightly on a phase of Olson's character which reveals a curious and to some of his associates, quite inexplicable inconsistency. It may be illustrated by his attitude toward music and song. Already early in life he must have learned to appreciate the best in Norse music. Later, at the University, he came into contact with the best in classical music. No one was more earnest or enthusiastic in his support of the high class concerts given under the auspices of the Choral Union than he. I have a vivid recollection of a concert at the Armory in 1896 when he was so carried away by Campanari's rendition of the "Largo al Factotum" from Rossini's "Barber of Seville," that he rose in his chair and waving his handkerchief, started a demonstration, the like of which has perhaps never been witnessed in Madison or the University, except occasionally at a football game, and at the same time we have all observed how he may suddenly become fascinated by some selection which the best judges of music would not hesitate to classify as ragtime. The members of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies, who have year after year enjoyed that social evening which has come to form the concluding feature of the annual sessions, and where Olson, by virtue of his unusual social and musical gifts, has ruled supreme as Master of Ceremonies, will probably always recall with more or less mixed feelings, the inevitable "Amager Mor." Here is one of those mysteries of the human soul which even the keenest psychologist may find it difficult to fathom.

Having thus reviewed Olson's shortcomings, and given, as I believe, a true characterization of the man as I knew him thirty-six years ago, and as I now see him through the haze of intervening years, there remains to be said in conclusion that according to my humble opinion, there are precious few men of Scandinavian extraction in America who have labored so long, so well, and withal, so successfully, for the preservation and dissemination of the best in Norse culture, as he. Rumors have it that his work has recently received some official recognition, the Order of St. Olaf. The Norwegian language newspapers, usually quick to spread the news of decorations conferred on American citizens by the Scandinavian governments, have been strangely silent as to this event. Rather curious, this, in view of the fact that Olson had already twenty-five years ago accomplished more for the spread of Norse culture in America than the great majority of those on whom similar decorations have already been conferred. It should also be noted that his work as teacher, writer, and lecturer, has by no means been confined to the Norwegian literature and history. He has accomplished almost as much for the Danish and Swedish and if the recognition of his life's work is to take the form of decorations, why not the Wasa Order and Dannebrog as well as the Cross of St. Olaf?

Since he in 1884, as a young instructor, entered the services of the University of Wisconsin, Olson has devoted almost forty-one years to Scandinavian studies, a record unparalleled in any American university. Always giving to his professional work his best, he has nevertheless managed in a remarkable degree to preserve the spirit and vigor of youth. Endowed with mental and physical

gifts rarely combined in any one person, and which have made it relatively easy for him to teach, write, lecture, or engage in other intellectual pursuits, he has also had the time and strength to take the lead in many social and communal enterprises, in and out of the University. Through it all, and dominating all his activities, official as well as private, there stands out that enthusiasm, that magnetic personality, which carries all before it. I last saw him when he had just completed his sixty-fifth year, hale, hearty, and vigorous, his voice still strong and clear, whether addressing an audience, or leading in one of his favorite songs, the very personification of what "Juvenalerne"² must have had in mind when "Magisteren" first, and then the chorus, greeted each new member with the familiar, "Vivas, floreas, semperque gaudeas."

J. C. M. HANSON

Chicago

² A student society in Upsala whose main interests were social and aesthetic, music and song occupying a prominent place in their informal programs.

PROFESSOR JULIUS E. OLSON, A PREACHER OF IDEALISM

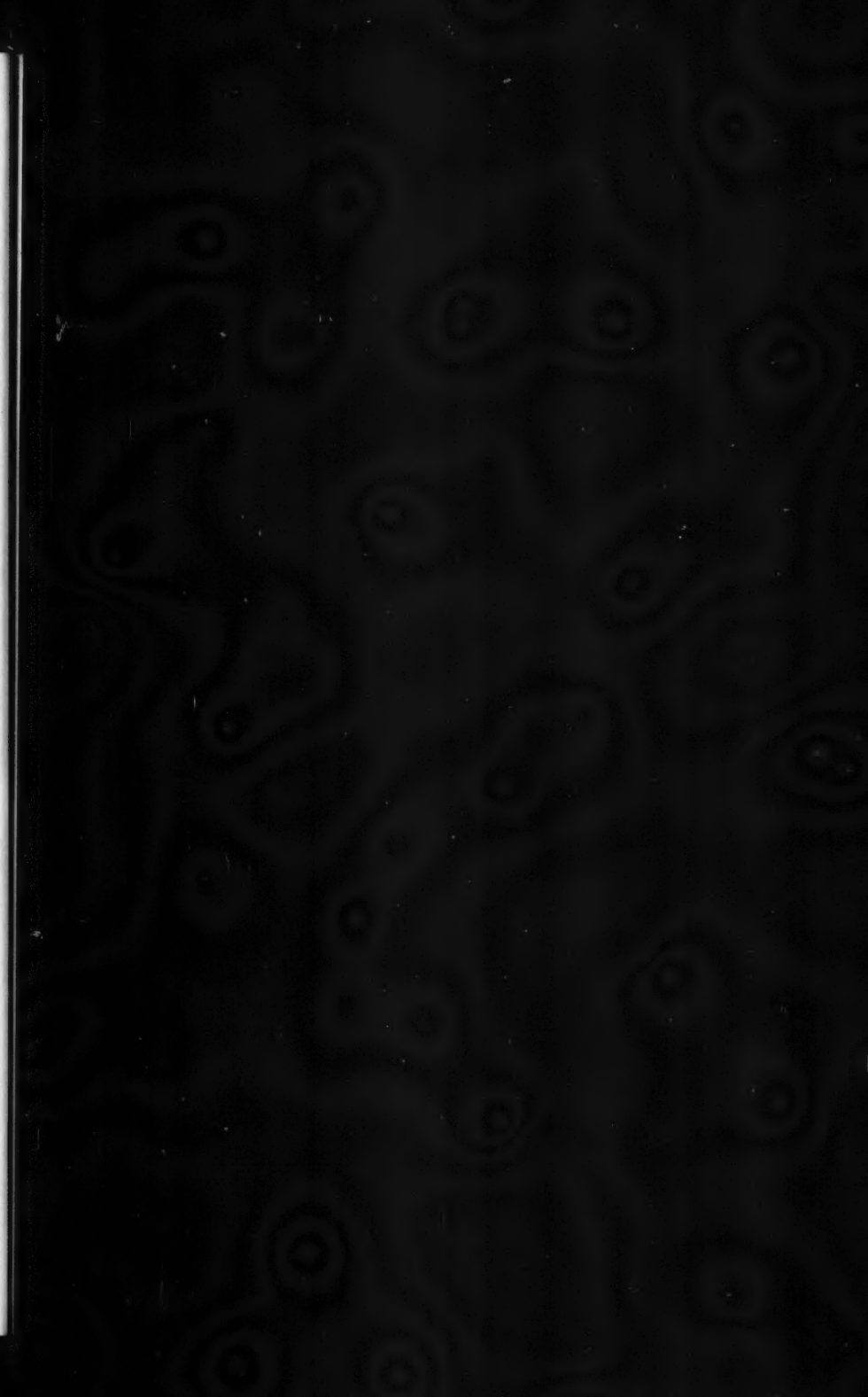
Certain impressions are ineffaceable. A scorching hot July Sunday afternoon in 1913; a sun's rays beating perpendicularly down upon the city filled the dusty streets with a heat so intense and stifling that it was almost impossible to draw a full breath.

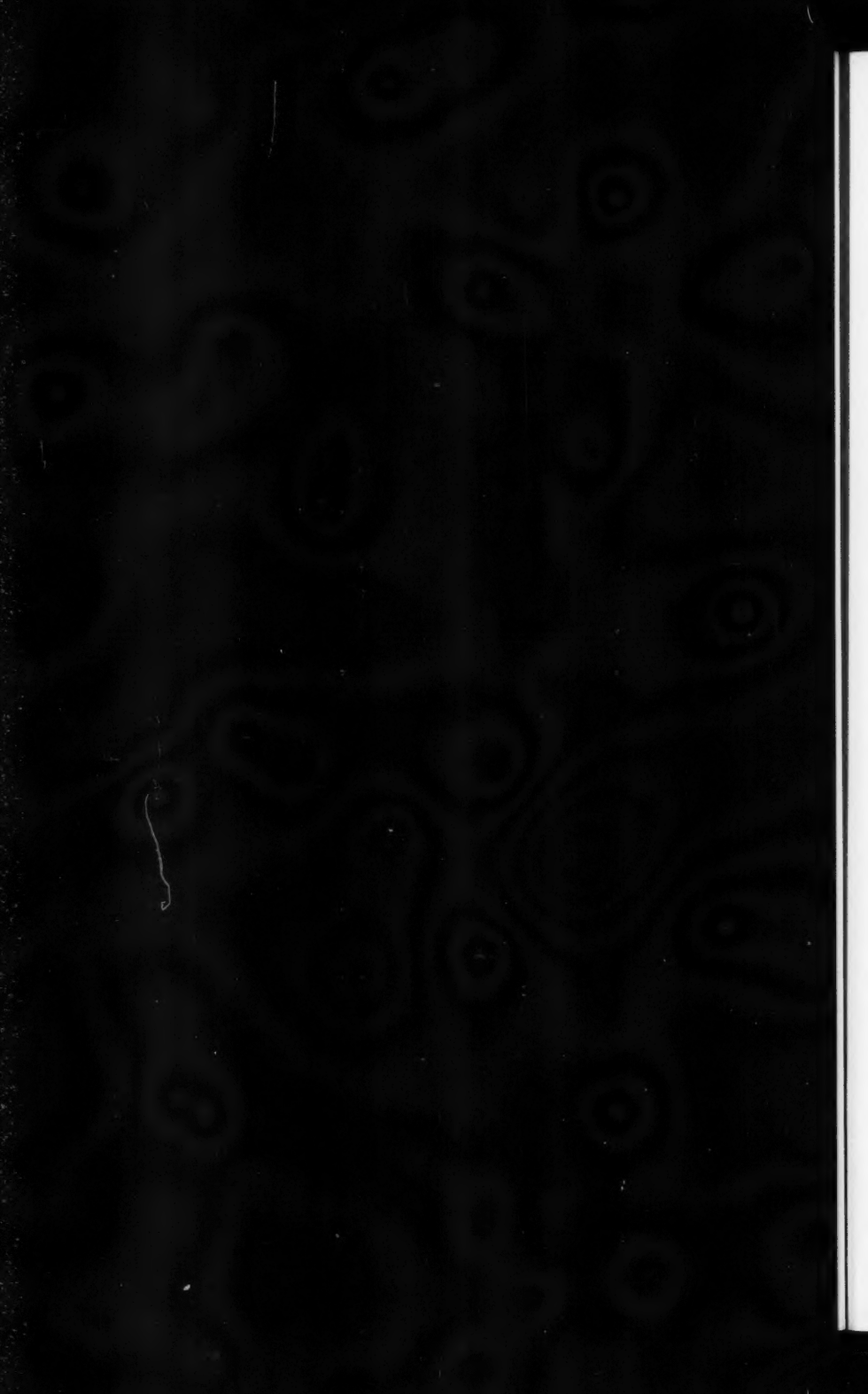
I was sitting in a hotel lobby in Minneapolis, rather forlorn,—a long dull afternoon before me. I was off for a short vacation trip to the lake region of northern Minnesota, but my train didn't leave until late in the evening. As I sat there, too dull to reflect on anything in particular, I began mechanically to turn the pages of the Sunday paper lying on the empty chair at my side. Suddenly I came out of the stupor into which the heat had sunk me. I found myself sitting back in the chair reading an announcement . . . "Thousands of Norwegians will gather at the State Fair Grounds this afternoon . . . Music and Song . . . Professor Julius E. Olson of Madison, Wisconsin, to deliver the main address. . . ." I had lit a fresh cigar before I knew it; now I sat with my watch in my hand, figuring out how far I had to walk to the right street car line. I was determined to hear Professor Olson, heat or no heat!

For I had heard much about this man; I had read two of his speeches; but the comments and the speeches were in absolute disagreement. Different persons had said very much the same things. . . . "Professor Olson is not a safe man . . . not interested in church . . . rather given to free-thinking . . . yes, certainly, he is a good speaker . . . but—" Now, in the aforementioned two speeches, there was not even the slightest trace of heresy of any kind,—one of them rather magnified the great things the church had accomplished; both breathed the purest idealism, showed so wide an outlook over, and such keen insight into, the cultural life of the Norwegians of the Northwest, that they were a revelation to me. Why their author hadn't been hailed as a prophet was something of a mystery to me. Surely the Norwegian-Americans had no apostles of culture to spare!

At any rate, I had become seriously interested in this man, which was the reason for my defying the heat that Sunday afternoon.

I reached the Fair Grounds early so that I could select the shadiest and breeziest place. Besides the speech there wasn't much of a program, which was not to be regretted, as the heat really was terrible. I remember nothing of that program except the speech. I have tried to recall the person who introduced the speaker, but cannot, though I am sure I know the man well; nor can I say what else there was. But I can still see that tall—very tall—well built man rise and step up to the speaker's stand. It struck me as soon as he had spoken the first sentences—the speech was in English—that I had never seen a manlier human face; not beautiful exactly, but so clear-cut, strongly intellectual, and so typically classical. His voice, full of the ring of the inner power of the man, was very melodious; the air was soggy, yet every syllable came clear and without effort. However, I soon lost sight of the physical man before me: what he said absorbed me entirely.





Now, the occasion for the gathering was this: a year from that day Norway was to celebrate the centennial of her political independence. And some well-meaning enthusiasts had conceived the novel idea that upon that historic occasion the Americans of Norwegian ancestry ought to show some appreciation of the fact that they had sprung from a free people; and since we had done so well in this land of plenty, while Norway was poor financially, we might fittingly raise a huge sum of money, with which to present Norway on her centennial birthday. The idea was not so naïve as it seems. Back of it lay a sincere attachment on the part of a few. Perhaps we had nothing but money to give. What else there might have been no one looked for. At least it was not mentioned that we might salary a man, such as, for example, Professor Julius E. Olson, at the University of Norway for the purpose of acquainting the university youth of that country with the spirit of America, and salary another to teach Norwegian-American history to the same youth. Such ideas did not spring up, because we were too poverty-stricken culturally. Hence, the gift had to be in dollars. This meeting was the preparatory step to the great drive now to be inaugurated. And Professor Olson had come up from Madison, Wisconsin, for the express purpose of telling the Norwegians of the Northwest *why* they ought to raise a memorial gift to a foreign country, the propriety of such an undertaking, and last but not least—their moral obligation in the matter. Well, Professor Olson did tell them, in spite of the heat. It was a great speech, well delivered.

I am telling this incident for two reasons: it was the first time I saw and heard Professor Olson; secondly, because the occasion and his speaking that day in a way typifies Olson himself, his life, and his work. Though his appointed task for more than forty years has been to teach Scandinavian languages and literature to the youth of America in attendance at one of our great state universities, *his life* has had one great aim: to elevate his own racial group culturally. This end he has sought to achieve by getting them to visualize the greatness of their racial heritage in order that they might cash in on their inheritance. All his great speeches testify to that fact.

Professor Olson has not written any poetry—what he might have perpetrated when *very* young I don't know—nor dramas, nor novels. Yet he is a seer, a dreamer of great dreams. I have witnessed his power to enthuse great crowds by means of the spoken word for things that lie beyond the reach of the average man. He has striven to transform ordinary human beings into glad noblemen. His students will tell you that; all his speeches tell it. He believes most implicitly in the efficacy of true culture and particularly in great literature as a means by which to ennoble men. Again and again it has been said of him that he is the greatest speaker the Norwegian-Americans have produced. Such statements are too idiotic to merit much consideration, as speaking may be termed great because of widely different qualities. If an ordinary person were given the task of reading Billy Sunday's sermons and Woodrow Wilson's speeches in order to render a decision, I don't imagine there would be much doubt as to the outcome; but if the same person had just listened to Mr. Wilson's first inaugural address and thereupon gone to the "tabernacle," it is easily con-

ceivable that he would have voted in favor of Mr. Sunday. To compare Professor Olson's speaking with that of one of our politicians, or of one of our great preachers, would be doing all three a great injustice. Professor Olson is the preacher of idealism, not the kind one finds in politics and business, nor exactly that type found in the religion of the day as commonly interpreted, but—may I not use this phrase?—as found in the finest fruit of the greatest spirits of his own race. Ask his former students!

What are the results of his preaching? To answer is difficult. Still harder to say what the results will be in the future. He has thrown many sparks that still are but smouldering. This we do know, however, that he has given more addresses and lectures on Norwegian subjects to non-Scandinavians, and to a greater number of them, than any other person in America. To say that one cause for the present popularity of Norwegian literature among Americans of the *Middle West*, is partly due to Mr. Olson's lectures, is but stating a truism.

I am certainly not exaggerating when I say that some of his addresses have become historic documents. In May, 1905, he was invited to St. Paul to deliver the Seventeenth of May address (we recall that this was three weeks before the separation of Norway and Sweden, and that on this side of the Atlantic we knew nothing of what was taking place "behind the curtain" on the Scandinavian peninsula). His speech that day won but a slight ripple of applause because it advocated separation. Next spoke Governor John A. Johnson, who expressed the hope that Norway and Sweden *together* would make one great united country; which speech brought down the house. Both men were sincere. But the one knew the temper of his own race—understood its history and *saw* the future; the other did not; he saw only the practical and that which was expedient.

On July 12, 1912, there was to be unveiled in Fargo, North Dakota, a statue of Rollo of Normandy. The occasion was unusual and called for exceptional preparations. It seems that the committee in charge was aware of the importance of the events, and had invited distinguished men to deliver the unveiling address—the Governor General of Canada, Theodore Roosevelt, Knute Nelson, but all declined the honor. A short time before the event was to take place, Professor Olson received a telegram inviting him to speak. He gave a most prosaic answer! He said that he would come, provided his expenses were paid! Presently he received a letter from a member of the committee, stating that they expected him "to make the occasion memorable." This request he complied with to the very letter! The address has as its theme *The Teutonic Spirit*.¹ In it one finds statements such as these: "It became the mission of the Teutons to liberate the conscience of men, and incidentally to rescue agonizing humanity from the clutches of ecclesiastical despotism. A noble mission indeed, and one that demanded towering gift and endowment—physical, intellectual and spiritual . . . Charles the great was a Teuton in spirit. But he coquetted with Rome, and left a heritage that has ridden Europe like a nightmare ever since . . . A Teuton cannot live in intellectual and spiritual bondage . . . Among the striking things in the career of William the Conqueror is that he,

¹Published in pamphlet form by K. C. Holter Publishing Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

like the Norwegian King Sverre, dared, more than once, to defy mighty Rome etc. etc." The speaker did not know that the leading spirit in promoting the celebration was a Norwegian Catholic, nor that Catholic dignitaries were to be present—back of him on the platform sat several priests. I do not think it would have made any difference if he had known; an idealist of Mr. Olson's type is above all honest in what he considers to be indisputably true. It may be worth while to note that his two greatest ideals are the Norwegian poet, Henrik Wergeland and our martyred president, Abraham Lincoln. The occasion certainly became "memorable." It rent the city of Fargo in twain, caused a flood of newspaper comments throughout the Northwest,—and, so far as I know, Professor Olson is yet minus the expenses!

But by far the greatest piece of speechmaking that Professor Olson ever did, so far as consequences go, is his address on Norwegian literature, delivered in Decorah, Iowa, September 19, 1899, at a banquet in honor of Brynild Anundsen, the founder of *Decorah-Posten*. After the middle of the 80's, Norwegian literature had fallen lower and lower in disrepute among Norwegian-Americans. Björnson was an infidel, Ibsen a "grouchy old ghoul" taking a keen delight in baring that which is hideous in life; Garborg was a free-thinker, Kielland, the author of "Jacob," "En Sankthansfest," "Else," and "Arbeidsfolk." Even Jonas Lie had turned realist and was no longer to be trusted. "Bohem-Literatur," "dekadent literatur," grise literatur" were phrases taken at face value when applied to books coming from Norway during that period. The Norwegian-American clergy as a class looked with the gravest apprehension at the new movement across the water. They did not understand the new spirit; they could not, and so they condemned in unequivocal terms. He who rose in defense of Norwegian literature during the 90's was immediately looked upon as morally questionable. Very few there were who found it justifiable—still fewer who cared to risk their reputation on defending so unpopular a cause. Nor was this antagonism confined only to the clergy. Professor R. B. Anderson, former United States minister to Denmark, and at that time editor of "Amerika," led in the attack and was more vituperative in his denunciations than anyone else. Professor Olson has never been a realist; both by temperament and in bringing up he is a romanticist. But truth-seeker as he has always been, this wholesale condemnation by would-be intellectuals of something he felt they did not understand, made him revolt. He felt also that this hostility had greater deflecting power than the zealots themselves intended. While it was directed only against realism, it had the effect of a great chill upon all literary interests, which had not been any too strong before.

He accepted the invitation from Decorah with the joy of the crusader. His address on that occasion is a manly piece of work, though not his most finished product; his lecture to the Modern Language Association in 1922 shows more careful workmanship. But he has done nothing in the line of speech-making that is as far-reaching in result as the Decorah address.² All the larger Norwegian-American newspapers printed the speech in full—all but *Amerika*, and at least one newspaper in Norway.³ Editorial comments in the Norwegian-

²Printed in full in *Decorah-Posten*, Sept. 22, 1899.

³"Varden," published at Skien, Norway

American press were numerous, and strange to say, the comments were distinctly favorable. From the year 1900 to the outbreak of the World War one finds a slow but steadily widening cultural interest among the Norwegians of the Northwest. The wholesale condemnation of Norwegian literature ceased; one finds an isolated outburst—nothing more. That this spirit of tolerance partly arose from Professor Olson's Decemh address can be demonstrated mathematically.

I have before me an editorial in *The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*⁴ which is partly a panegyric on Professor Olson. The editorial writer begins by saying, "There is only one Julius E. Olson." I want to close with this statement. What this writer says is true—there is only one Julius E. Olson. I at least have never heard of another. There are greater scholars in the Scandinavian field—certainly though here, too, Professor Olson has done things that have lasting value. Some there are that can compose equally finished speeches and addresses; yet Professor Olson does handle two languages both in speaking and writing exceptionally well. It will no doubt be possible to find people having just as keen an appreciation of Norwegian literature, yet there is only one Julius E. Olson; he is all these things in one great personality. He is the good scholar, the fine teacher, the exceptional speaker; but above all he is the man who has seen with great clarity the visions that shaped the mighty ones of the Norwegian race, and who has been able to discourse on them until we too see,—Professor Olson is a great preacher of idealism.

O. E. RÖLVAAG

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⁴Issue of October, 1913.

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